COMPLETE WORKS IN VERSE AND PROSE

Volume 4

DANIEL, SAMUEL, 1562-1619

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https://archive.org/details/isbn_9781313957342_4

ISBN: 9781313957342

Published by:
HardPress Publishing
8345 NW 66TH ST #2561
MIAMI FL 33166-2626

Email: info@hardpress.net
Web: http://www.hardpress.net

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THE COMPLETE WORKS IN VERSE AND PROSE OF SAMUEL DANIEL.

VOL. IV.

III

THE COMPLETE WORKS IN VERSE AND PROSE OF SAMUEL DANIEL.

Edited, with Memorial-Introduction and a Glossarial Index embracing Notes and Illustrations.

BY THE
REV. ALEXANDER B. GROSART,
D.D., LL.D. (Edin.), F.S.A. (Scot.).

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.

MEMORIAL-INTRODUCTION II.—Critical.

I. PREFACE and EPISTLES before PAULUS IOUIUS. 1585.

II. A DEFENCE OF RYME. 1607.

III. THE COLLECTION OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND. 1612—1618.

Epistles-Dedicatory : Certaine Advertisements to the Reader.

Early History.—William I. to Henry II.

PRINTED FOR PRIVATE CIRCULATION ONLY.
1896.
150 *copies only.*]

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Printed by Hazell, Watson, & Viney, Ld., London and Aylesbury.

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* In relation to Paulus Iouius, a little gathering of Devises (often lacking in the vol. of 1585) has since been found, and is reproduced at close of Vol. V.

MEMORIAL-INTRODUCTION II.—CRITICAL.

I KNOW not that I can better begin the fulfilment of my promise of a second part of my 'Memorial-Introduction' (I. Biographical; II. Critical),* than by putting in the forefront selected and representative estimates of our Worthy from contemporaries and on to the present day. Having done this, I shall return upon certain things in most of them; so that between these criticisms and our commentary, I have a hope of vindicating and restoring to him his original high place in our great Elizabethan-Jacobean literature.

I shall follow the chronological order as closely as may be, only giving the lead to—

1. EDMUND SPENSER (1594) in 'Colin Clout's Come Home Againe':

> "... there is a new shepheard late upsprong
> The which doth all afore him far surpasse,
> Appearing well in that well-tunèd song
> Which late he sung unto a scornfull lasse.
> Yet doth his trembling Muse but lowly flie,
> As daring not too rashly mount to hight,
> And doth her tender plumes as yet but trie
> In love's soft laies and looser thoughts delight.

* Vol. I., p. x.

Then rouze thy feathers quickly, DANIELL,
And to what course thou please thy selfe advance.
But most me seemes thy accent will excell
In tragick plaints and passionate mischance."

2. THOMAS NASHE (1592) in 'Piers Penilesse': *

"... Some dull-headed divines deeme it no more cunnynge to write an exquisite poem than to preach pure Calvin, or distill the juice of a Commentary into a quarter poem ... you shall finde there goes more exquisite paynes and puritie of wit, to the writing of one such rare poem as *Rosamond* then to a hundred of your dunsticall sermons."

3. DR. GABRIEL HARVEY (1592) in 'Foure Letters and Certaine Sonnets': †

"I cordially recommend to the deere louers of the Muses; and namely, to the professed sonnes of the same: Edmund Spenser ... Thomas Watson, SAMUELL DANIELL ... and the rest, whome I affectionately thancke for their studious endeuors, commendably employed, in enriching and polishing their natiue tongue, neuer so furnished or embellished as of late."

4. THOMAS CHURCHYARD (1593) in the 'Tragedie of Shore's Wife':

"Good Madame (Lady Mount-Eagle and Compton), because *Rosimond* is excellently set forth (the actor [= auctor or author] whereof I honour) I have somewhat beautified my 'Shore's Wife.'"

In 'A Praise of Poetrie' (1595):—

"In Spenser's morall fairie Queene,
And Daniel's rosie mound [= Rosamond],

* See complete Works in the *Huth Library* (6 vols.): vol. ii., pp. 59-60.
† See the same in same (3 vols.): vol. i., pp. 218-19. Cf. also ii. 290.

If they be throwly waid and seen,
Much matter may be found;
One Barnes, that Petrarks Scholler is,
May march with them in ranke."

5. WILLIAM CLARKE (1595) in 'Polimanteia':*

"Let other countries (sweet Cambridge) envie (yet admire) my Virgil, thy Petrarch, divine *Spenser*. And unlesse I erre (a thing easie in such simplicitie) deluded by dearlie beloved *Delia*, and fortunatelie fortunate *Cleopatra*, Oxford thou maist extoll thy court-deare verse-happie *Daniell*, whose sweete refined Muse, in contracted shape, were sufficient amongst men, to gaine pardon of the sinne to *Rosamond*, and euer-living praise to her loving Delia."

Passing JOHN WEEVER and "ZEPHERIA" and CHARLES FITZGEOFFREY with simple notices below,† we come to—

6. SIR JOHN DAVIES (1596) in 'Orchestra':‡

"O that I could old Gefferies' Muse awake,
Or borrow Colin's fayre heroike stile,
Or smooth my rimes with Delia's servant's file" (st. 128).

* See my reprint (with Introduction and Notes) in 'Unique and Rare Books.'

† John Weever (1595) in 'Epigrams' (1599) is a mere echo of Spenser. In the anonymous "Zepheria" (1594) the author addressing the "modern Laureats" speaks of "the sweete-tun'd accents of your Delian sonnetrie"; but the epithet may only be general and refer to Delos as the birthplace of Diana and Apollo. See Collier's 'Bibl. Cat.,' ii. 554-5, and i., xlv*a*. Charles Fitzgeoffrey in his poem on Sir Francis Drake (1596) and in his 'Affaniæ sive Epigrammata: lib. iii. Oxon' (1601) is so utterly conventional as to be unworthy of preservation here. His 'Drake' is included in 'Unique and Rare Books,' as before.

‡ See either of my editions of Sir John Davies: (*a*) Complete Verse and Prose in Fuller Worthies' Library, 3 vols.; (*b*) Complete Poems in Chatto and Windus' 'Early English Poets,' 2 vols., 1876.

7. FRANCIS MERES (1596-98) in 'Palladis Tamia':

". . . As the Greeke tongue is made famous and eloquent by Homer . . . so the English tongue is mightily enriched and gorgeouslie invested in rare ornaments and resplendent ablliments by Sir Philip Sidney, Spenser, DANIEL. . . . And as *Horace* saith of his 'Exegi monumentum' . . . so say I severally of Sir Philip Sidney's, Spenser's, DANIEL's . . . workes. . . . As *Pindarus* . . . among the Greekes, and *Horace* and *Catullus* among the Latins, are the best Lyrick Poets: so in this faculty the best among our Poets are *Spenser* (who excelleth in all kinds), DANIEL, Drayton, Shakespeare, Breton . . . so these are the most passionate among us to bewaile and bemoane the perplexities of Loue, Henrie Howard Earle of Surrey . . . Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Walter Rawley, Sir Edward Dyer, Spenser, DANIELL, Drayton, Shakespeare. . . . As every one mourneth when hee heareth of the lamentable plangors of Thracian Orpheus for his dearest Euridice; so every one passionateth when he readeth the afflicted death of DANIEL's distressed *Rosamond*."

Meres rather paraded his own scholarship and ingenuity of comparison than showed critical acumen. I allow him to represent others kindred—*e.g.* Allot, Bodenham, Puttenham, William Camden, Richard Carew, and 'Vindex Anglicus' (1644)—who all class Daniel with Spenser and Sidney.*

8. RICHARD BARNFIELD (1598) in 'Poems in Divers Humors': A Remembrance of some English Poets (after Spenser):—

"And DANIELL, praised for thy sweet-chaste Verse:
Whose Fame is grav'd on Rosamund's blacke Herse:

* I find in my note-book a number of untraced encomiums, *e.g.*, "Rosamund's trumpeter, sweet as the nightingale." I should have liked to know the writer.

Still mayst thou liue; and still be honourèd
For that rare Worke, 'The White Rose and the Red.'"*

9. JOHN MARSTON (1598) in 'Certaine Satyres.' Bp. Hall in his 'Satires' had attacked the 'Mirror for Magistrates,' and indirectly Daniel's poems on the same (as he held) bad model. Marston handles him severely for the former, and adds:—

"Must thou needs detract
And striue to worke his antient honor's wrack?
What, shall not *Rosamond*, or *Gaueston*
Ope their sweet lips without detraction
But must our moderne Criticks envious eye . . ."†

10. EDWARD GUILPIN (1598):—

"DANIEL (as some holds) might mount IF HE LIST:=someone.
But others say that he's a Lucanist":‡ 'Skialetheia. Or a

* See my collective edition of his complete Poems for the Roxburgh Club.

† See our 'Unique and Rare Books,' as before, for Marston's collected Poems with Memorial-Introduction; also Mr. A. H. Bullen's edition of his Works (3 vols.); and same series for Bp. Hall's complete Poems.

‡ I suspect Guilpin meant that whereas he himself was the 'some one' who believed (like Spenser) that Daniel could 'mount if he list' to any height of 'divine poesy' he chose, certain others arguing (foolishly) from the 'Civil Wars' (four books of which were then published) held that he should prove no more than Lucan in his 'Pharsalia'—*i.e.* a verse-historian rather than poet. I have to thank two good literary friends who have thus written to me on the term. (*a*) *Professor J. W. Hales, M.A.* "There are two faults often found in Lucan: (1) that he is over-learned or at least too fond of airing his learning, and (2) that—this is Quintillian's criticism—'he was more of an orator than a poet.' So a Lucanist may be 'a pedant' or a 'rhetorician.'" (*b*) *Mr. Edmund Gosse.* "I do not know, but I would hazard the conjecture that Daniel is called a 'Lucanist' as resembling Lucan, of whom it was said that he 'chose the quiet life,' a phrase which has been interpreted as meaning that he refused all political office. I should think it possible that in this sense the gentle and cloistered Daniel might be called a 'Lucanist.' This seems to me more plausible than to suppose that, like Lucan, having written verse on the history of his country, he was so named."

Shadowe of Truth in certaine Epigrams and Satyres.'* 1598: Satyre iv., p. 63.

11. MICHAEL DRAYTON (1) (1599) in 'Endimion and Phœbe' (after Spenser) :—

"And thou, the sweet Musæus of these times,
Pardon my rugged and vnfilèd rymes,
Whose scarce invention is too meane and base,
When Delia's glorious Muse doth come in place."

(2) 'To Henry Reynolds of Poets and Poesy' (after Spenser, Marlowe, and Shakespeare) :—

"Amongst these SAMUEL DANIEL, whom if I
May speak of, but to censure do deny; (= iudge)
Only have heard some wise men him rehearse
To be too much historian in verse;
His rhimes were smooth, his meeter well did close,
But yet his manner better fitted prose."

(3) 'To Reader of Idea' (1593—1619) :—

"Many there be excelling in this kind,
Whose well-trick'd rimes with all inuention swel:
Let each commend as best shall be his minde,
Some *Sidney*, *Constable*, some DANIEL.
That thus their names familiarly I sing,
Let none thinke them disparagèd to be;
Poor men with reuerence may speake of a King,
And so may these be spoken of by mee . . ." †

* Mr. Quiller-Couch (as onward) is unfortunate in his quotation of above couplet—the usual peril of second- or third-hand knowledge. (*a*) It is somewhat belated not to know the author of 'Skialetheia' (see my reproduction in 'Unique and Rare Books,' as before, with Introduction, etc., 1878). (*b*) Inaccurate to describe the rare book as a 'collection' of epigrams by several authors. (*c*) The Epigrams (70 in all) occupy only pp. 3—28, the Satyres pp. 29—68; and it is in the latter (not in an Epigram) the Daniel lines occur.

† See the Spenser Society edition of Drayton and Mr. J. P. Collier's volume for the Roxburgh Club.

12. 'THE RETURNE FROM PARNASSUS' (1601-6)* :—

(*a*) "*Gull:* Pardon mee, moy mistressa, est am a gentleman, the moone in comparison of thy bright hue a meere slutt, Anthonie's Cleopatra a black-browde milkmaide, Hellen a dowdie.

Ingen: (Marke, Romeo and Juliet! O monstrous theft. I thinke he will runn throughe a whole booke of Samuell Daniell's!)" (Act iii., sc. 1, p. 57.)

(*b*) *Ibid:*—

"Sweete hony-dropping Daniell doth wage
Warre with the proudest big Italian,
That melts his heart in sugred sonneting:
Onely let him more sparingly make use
Of others wit, and use his owne the more:
That well may scorne base imitation."

(Act i., sc. 2, p. 85.)

13. BEN JONSON (1619): (1) in 'Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden':—

(*a*) "Said he had written a Discourse of Poesie, both against Campion and Daniel, especially this last, where he proves couplets to be the bravest sort of verse, especially when they are broken, like Hexameters; and that crosse rimes and stanzas (because the purpose would lead him beyond 8 lines to conclude) were all forced."

(*b*) "Samuel Daniel was a good honest man; had no children; but no poet."

(*c*) "Daniel was at jealousies with him."

(*d*) "Daniel wrott Civil Warres, and yet hath not one battle in all his book."

* We are indebted to the Rev. W. D. Macray, M.A., for an admirable edition, not only of the 'Returne,' but also of its two related 'Journeys': Clarendon Press, 1866.

(2) From 'Euery Man in his Humour' (1596-98).

(*e*) "*Clem.*: What! all this verse? body o' me, he carries a whole realme [=ream, as realm was pronounced] a commonwealth of paper in his hose: let us see some of his subject. [*Reads.*

'Unto the boundless ocean of thy face,
Runs this poor river, charged with streams of eyes.'

How! this is stolen.

"*E. Know*: A parody! a parody! with a kind of miraculous gift, to make it absurder than it was." (Act v., sc. 1.)

(*f*) From 'The Silent Woman' (1609):—

"*Truewit*: Be a stateswoman, know all the news . . . or so she may censure poets, and authors, and styles, and compare them; Daniel with Spenser, Jonson with t'other youth, and so forth." (Act ii., sc. 1.)

(*g*) From 'The Staple of News' (1625):—

"*Wax* (Rose): When he says nothing
But twirls it thus.
Statute: A moving oratory!
Band: Dumb rhetoric and silent eloquence!
As the fine poet says." (Act iii., sc. 1.)

(*h*) From 'The Forest' (1616-30)—to Elizabeth Countess of Rutland (Sidney's daughter):—

"You, and that other star, that purest light
Of all Lucina's train, Lucy the bright;
Than which a nobler heaven itself knows not;
Who, though she have a better verser got,
(Or Poet, in the Court-account), than I,
And who doth me, though I not him envy . . ." (xii.)

14. JOHN DAVIES OF HEREFORD (1611), in 'Scourge of Folly': *—

* See complete ed. of John Davies in Chertsey Worthies' Library, 2 vols. 4to.

"*To my worthily disposed friend Mr. Sam. Daniell.*

"I hear thy Muse in Court doth travell now,
Art speed her feet, and grace there speed her plough.
If they come short, then gain by other drifts,
The more thou get'st, the more it's like thy gifts.
If yet too short, to add unto thy size,
Get one foot's length, then thy feet shall rise
With Pegasus, from Parnass to the skies."

I pass a foolishly encomiastic anonymous tribute of 1611—noting it below *—and equally leave unquoted *Robert Hayman's* 'Quodlibets' (1628), inasmuch as his epigram consists simply of a couplet on his own epigrams addressed "to Samuel Daniel most witty poet," much as Sir John Harington (a Somersetshire man), wishful to have his friend's name in his book, similarly addressed a couplet to "My friend, Mr. Sam. Daniell"—nothing personal. I also over-pass the (poor) epigrams of *John Owen*—naught *quick* in any of his tributes.

15. THOMAS FREEMAN (1614), 'Rubbe and a Great Cast: Epigrams.' Epigr. 69:—

"*Ad Sam. Danielem ut Ciuile bellum perficiat.*

"I see not (Daniel) why thou shouldst disdain
If I vouchsafe thy name amongst my mirth;
Thy *Aetas prima* † was a merry vaine,
Though later Muse tumultuous in her birth;

* Thomas Park gives above in *Censura Literaria* (i. 173) without stating its source. It is tacked to a notice of Davison's 'Poetical Rhapsody' (1611), but *certes* did not appear therein. He says: "The following encomiastic tribute to Daniel, who was termed by Headley 'the Atticus of his day,' may be welcome to some poetical readers, as an antiquarian 'novelty,'—utter trash."

† *Aetas prima* canat venereas, postrema tumultus. Master Daniel's Mott prefixed to most of his Workes. [See vol. i. 20, 21: ii. 2, 3, etc.]

Know, here I praise thee as thou wast in youth:
Venereous, not mutinous as now;
Thy Infancie I loue, admire thy growth,
And wonder to what excellence 'twill grow,
When thou shalt end the broils thou hast begun,
Which none shall do, if thou shalt leaue vndone." *

16. WILLIAM DRUMMOND OF HAWTHORNDEN (1619?):

"For sweetness and rhyming second to none." †

17. WILLIAM BROWNE (1613-16) in 'Britannia's Pastorals' (B. ii., song 2):

"Well-languaged Daniel."

18. EDMUND BOLTON (before 1600), 'Hypercritica': ‡

"The works of Samuel Daniel contained somewhat a flat but yet withal a very pure and copious English, and words as warrantable as any Man's, and fitter perhaps for Prose than measure."

19. JOHN PENNY (1626), 'Anagramata Regia':

'SAMUEL DANIEL.

"Diceris egregius duplici tu nomine Vates;
Quam sanctus Samuel, quam sapiens Daniel.
Romanum superare potes, me Judice, Vatem:
Non tibi lasciva est Pagina, Vita proba est." §

* The above epigram is from the second series, entitled 'Runne and a Great Cast: The Second Bowle.' There is a 17th-century MS. of Freeman in 'Sloane MS.,' 1889, f. 37*b*. This in line 2nd reads 'amidst' for 'amongst.'

† See this Memorial-Introduction onward for notice of MSS. of Daniel formerly belonging to Drummond.

‡ Fairly well reprinted by Joseph Haslewood in his 'Ancient Critical Essays'—which include Campion and Daniel, 2 vols. 4to, 1811.

§ Cf. Collier's 'Bibliogr. Cat.,' i. 21, 22.

[Translation by Canon Richard Wilton, M.A., of Londesborough Rectory:

"A noble bard art thou in twofold guise:
As SAMUEL holy and as DANIEL wise;
The Roman bard, methinks thou dost outshine;
Thy life is pure, no wanton page is thine."] *

20. DR. THOMAS FULLER (1662), 'Worthies':—

"Samuel Daniel was born not far from Taunton in this county [of Somerset]: [his father John] whose faculty was a master of music; and his harmonious mind made an impression on his son's genius, who proved an exquisite poet. He carried in his Christian and surname two holy prophets, his monitors, so to qualify his raptures, that he abhorred all profaneness.

"He was also a judicious historian: witness his 'Lives of our English Kings since the Conquest until King Edward the Third'; wherein he hath the happiness to reconcile brevity with clearness, qualities of great distance in other authors; a work since commendably continued (but not with equal judgment) by Mr. Trussell.

"He was a servant in ordinary to Queen Anne, who allowed him a fair salary. As the tortoise burieth himself all the winter in the ground, so Mr. Daniell would lie hid at his garden-house in Old Street, nigh London, for some months together (the more retiredly to enjoy the company of the Muses); and then would appear in public, to converse with his friends, whereof Dr. Cowel and Mr. Camden were principal. Some tax him to smack of the old cask, as resenting of the Romish religion, but they have a quicker palate than I, who can make any such

* The text has 'Regina'—an evident misprint for 'Pagina,' the pentameter requiring the second syllable of the word to be short, Pagĭna not Regīna. Probably Horace rather than Virgil was intended: or query Ovid? My 'brother beloved' was good enough to similarly translate Owen, Fitzgeoffrey, and others; but, as stated elsewhere, the originals are sapless and valueless.

discovery.* In his old age he turned husbandman, and rented a farm in Wiltshire nigh the Devises. I can give no account how he thrived thereupon; for though he was well versed in Virgil, his fellow husbandman poet, yet there is more required to make a rich farmer, than only to say his Georgics by heart; and I question whether his Italian will fit our English husbandry. Besides, I suspect that Mr. Daniel's fancy was too fine and sublimated, to be wrought down to his private profit. However, he had neither a *bank of wealth* or *lack of want*, being in competent condition. By Justina his wife he had no child. . . ."

21. GERARD LANGBAINE (1691), 'Dramatick Poets.' In quoting the following couplet from 'Choice Drollery' (1656)—

> "The pithy Daniel, whose salt lines afford
> A weighty sentence in each little word" ('Time Poets')—

Langbaine says: "I have never seen any copies made on the old poets, but Mr. Daniel is therein mention'd with honor" (p. 105). Again: "One whose memory will ever be fresh in the minds of those who favour history or poetry. . . . But however his genius was qualified for Poetry, I take his History of England to be the crown of all his Works." †

Once more leaving unquoted as of no critical value

* See Glossarial-Index under 'Roman Catholic' for exposure of this absurdity.

† For those who care to consult it, I give the reference to Hallam's account of the 'History'—viz., vol. iii., pp. 149, 150. I simply note that he is wholly wrong in stating that Daniel had recourse 'only to common authorities.' His margins show that he had the whole available literature of his History at his command, and he promised an Appendix of original MS. documents by aid of Sir Robert Cotton, Camden, etc. Alas! that his death robbed us of this.

whatever Henry Headley (1787), 'Select Beauties of Ancient English Poets'—Sir Egerton Brydges (1815) in 'Censura Literaria,' 'Restituta,' etc.—Dr. Nathan Drake (1817) in 'Shakespeare and his Times' (with all its limitations a not despicable book)—as I shall in like manner not load my pages with anything from the almost always wooden and second-hand Henry Hallam, and Professor G. L. Craik—only a little less superficial and jejune than Hallam—we have now reached men of higher *calibre* and insight.

22. WILLIAM WORDSWORTH (1814):

"'. . . the wise
Have still the keeping of their proper peace;
Are guardians of their own tranquillity;
They act, or they recede, observe, and feel;
"Knowing the heart of man is set to be
The centre of this world, about the which
Those revolutions of disturbances
Still roll; where all the aspècts of misery
Predominate; whose strong effects are such
As he must bear, being powerless to redress;
And that unless above himself he can
Erect himself, how poor a thing is man!"'

('The Excursion,' Book IV., ll. 320-31.)

"The passage quoted from Daniel is taken from a poem addressed to the Lady Margaret, Countess of Cumberland, and the two last lines, printed in italics, are by him translated from Seneca. The whole poem is very beautiful. I will transcribe four stanzas from it, as they contain an admirable picture of the state of a wise man's mind in a time of public commotion." [Vol. i., pp. 204-5, ll. 36—67.] WORDSWORTH.

[See Glossarial-Index under Wordsworth for a note.]

23. ROBERT SOUTHEY, (1831), in (1) 'Select Works of the British Poets from Chaucer to Jonson': "Daniel frequently wrote below his subject and his strength, but always in a strain of tender feeling, and in language as easy and natural as it is pure. For his diction alone he would deserve to be studied by all students or lovers of poetry, even if his works did not abound with passages of singular beauty. Thoughtful, grateful [*sic*: query graceful? or pleasing?], right-minded and gentle-hearted, there is no poet in our language of whom it may be affirmed with more certainty, from his writings, that he was an amiable and wise and good man." (2) From 'The Doctor' (ed. 1848, p. 121): "One of the sweetest and tenderest of English poets." And again: "The tenderest of all tender poets."

24. SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE (*b.* 1772, *d.* 1834).

(1) 'Table Talk' (ed. 1851).

"Read Daniel—the admirable Daniel—in his 'Civil Wars' and 'Triumph of Hymen.' The style and language are just such as any very pure and manly writer of the present day—Wordsworth, for example—would use; it seems quite modern in comparison with the style of Shakespeare" (p. 311).

(2) 'Biographia Literaria' on Prose *v.* Verse (ed 1847, ii. 82-4).

". . . The sense shall be good and weighty, the language correct and dignified, the subject interesting and treated with feeling; and yet the style shall, notwithstanding all these merits, be justly blamable as prosaic, and solely because the words and the order of the words would find their appropriate place in prose, but are not suitable to metrical composition. The 'Civil Warres' of Daniel is an instructive, and even interesting

work: but take the following stanzas, (and from the hundred instances which abound I might probably have selected others far more striking: [Book I., st. vii.—ix.] Will it be contended, on the one side, that these lines are mean and senseless? Or, on the other, that they are not prosaic, and for *that* reason unpoetic? This poet's well-merited epithet is that of the 'well-languaged Daniel'; but likewise, and by the consent of his contemporaries no less than of all succeeding critics, the 'prosaic Daniel.' Yet those who thus designate this wise and amiable writer, from the frequent incorrespondency of his diction to his metre in the majority of his compositions, not only deem them valuable and interesting on other accounts, but willingly admit that there are to be found throughout his poems, and especially in his Epistles and in his 'Hymen's Triumph,' many and exquisite specimens of that style which, as the *neutral ground* of prose and verse, is common to both. A fine and almost faultless extract, eminent as for other beauties so for its perfection in this species of diction, may be seen in Lamb's Dramatic Specimens [noted by us elsewhere in this Introduction . . .]"

(3) Two letters to Lamb (Hazlitt's 'Johnson's Lives Completed' (i. 177-8: 1854) written on the fly-leaf of Lamb's copy of Daniel's 'Works':—

"DEAR CHARLES,—I think more highly [of Daniel], far more than you seemed to do (on Monday night, Feb. 9, 1808). The verse does not *teaze* me; and all the while I am reading it, I cannot but fancy a plain England-loving English country gentleman, with only some dozen books in his whole library, and at a time when a *Mercury* or *Intelligencer* was seen by him once in a month or two, making this his newspaper and political Bible at the same time, and reading it so often as to store his memory with its aphorisms. Conceive a good man of that kind, diffident and passive, yet *rather* inclined to Jacobitism,

seeing the reasons of the revolutionary party, yet, by disposition and old principles, leaning, in quiet nods and sighs, at his own parlour fire, to the hereditary right (and of these characters there must have been many), and then read this poem, assuming in your heart his character,—conceive how proud he would look, and what pleasure there would be, what unconscious, harmless, humble self-conceit, self-compliment in his gravity; how wise he would feel himself, yet, after all, how forbearing; how much calmed by that most calming reflection (when it is really the mind's own reflection),—Ay, it was just so in King Henry the Sixth's time. Always the same passions at work."

And again—

Second Letter (five hours after the first).

"DEAR CHARLES,—You must read over these *Civil Wars* again. We both know what a *mood* is; and the genial mood will—it shall—come for my sober-minded Daniel. He was a tutor and a sort of steward in a noble family, in which form was religiously observed, and religion formally; and yet there was much warm blood and mighty muscle of substance in them that the moulding-irons did not disturb, though they stiffened the vital man in them. Daniel caught and recommunicated the spirit of the great Countess of Pembroke, the glory of the North; he formed her mind, and her mind inspirited him. Gravely sober on all ordinary affairs, and not easily excited by any, yet there is one on which his blood boils—whenever he speaks of English valour exerted against a foreign enemy. Do read over,—but some evening when I am quite comfortable at your fireside,—and, oh, when shall I ever be if I am not so there!—that is the last altar at the horns of which my old feelings hang; but, alas, listen and tremble—nonsense!—well, I will read to you and Mary the 205, 206, and 207 pages—above all that 93 stanza! What is there in description superior even in Shakespeare? only that

Shakespeare would have given one of his *glows* to the first line, and flattered the mountain top with his sovran eye, instead of this poor 'a marvellous advantage of his yeares.' But this, however, is Daniel, and he must not be read piecemeal; —even by leaving off and looking at a stanza by itself, I find the loss.

"S. T. COLERIDGE."

Then a P.S. to notice of 93rd stanza (*ut supra*):

"And in a different style, the 98th stanza, page 208. What an image in 107, page 211! Thousands even of educated men would become more sensible, fitter to be members of parliament, or ministers, by reading Daniel; and even those few who, *quoad intellectum*, only gain refreshment of notions already their own, must become better Englishmen. Oh, if it be not too late, write a kind note about him.

"S. T. COLERIDGE."

[The edition of Daniel quoted from has not been recorded by either Coleridge's or Lamb's editors; but most probably the stanzas indicated all belong to Book VI. of the 'Civil Wars': specifically stanzas 93, 98 and 107.] I glean the following additions from Hartley Coleridge's 'Marginalia,'—for a Coleridge's dust is dust of gold.

Poem of the Lady Margaret—"A noble poem in all respects."—S. T. C. Then Hartley Coleridge on the Devonshire 'Funeral Poem':—

"If strong sense and high morality, expressed in pure, weighty and considerate language, be enough to constitute poetry, this memorial is a noble poem, notwithstanding the dead march of the verse, which might have been composed to the knell of muffled bells, the slow rumble of a heavy hearse, and the monotony of a funeral sermon. It is a perfect

contrast to Ford's essay on the same occasion, which is the dullest string of conceits, the finest specimen of 'the furious tame,' that ever issued from the pen of an undoubted genius. Daniel's allusion to his patron's connection with Lady Rich is manly and delicate. Ford thinks to bully over the matter." (i., pp. 12, 13.)

25. JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL in Essay on Spenser. After Drayton.

"Daniel was in all respects a man of finer mould. He did indeed refine our tongue, and deserved the praise his contemporaries concur in giving him of being 'well-languaged.'* Writing two hundred and fifty years ago, he stands in no need of a glossary, and I have noted scarce a dozen words, and not more turns of phrase, in his works, that have become obsolete. This certainly indicates both remarkable taste and equally remarkable judgment. There is a conscious dignity in his thought and sentiment such as we rarely meet. His best poems always remind me of a table-land, where, because all is so level, we are apt to forget on how lofty a plane we are standing. I think his 'Musophilus' the best poem of its kind in the language. The reflections are natural, the expression condensed, the thought weighty, and the language worthy of it. But he also wasted himself on an historical poem, in which the characters were incapable of that remoteness from ordinary associations which is essential to the ideal. Not that we can escape into the ideal by *merely* emigrating into the past or the unfamiliar. As in the German legend, the little black Kobald of prose that haunts us in the present will seat himself

* Edmund Bolton in his *Hypercritica* says: "The works of Sam. Daniel contained somewhat a flat, yet withal a very pure and copious English, and words as warrantable as any man's, and *fitter perhaps for prose than rhyming.*" (See Haslewood's *Ancient Crit. Essays*, vol. ii.) I have italicised his second thought, which chimes curiously with the feeling Daniel leaves in the mind. Wordsworth, an excellent judge, much admired Daniel's poem to the Countess of Cumberland.

on the first load of furniture when we undertake our flitting, if the magician be not there to exorcise him. No man can jump off his own shadow, nor, for that matter, off his own age, and it is very likely that Daniel had only the thinking and languaging parts of a poet's outfit, without the higher creative gift which alone could endow his conceptions with enduring life and with an interest which transcends the parish limits of his generation. In the prologue to his 'Masque at Court' he has unconsciously defined his own poetry :—

> "'Wherein no wild, no rude, no antic sport,
> But tender passions, motions soft and graue,
> The still spectator must expect to haue."

And indeed his verse does not snatch you away from ordinary associations and hurry you along with it, as is the wont of the higher kinds of poetry, but leaves you, as it were, upon the bank watching the peaceful current and lulled by its somewhat monotonous murmur. His best-known poem, blunderingly misprinted in all the collections, is that addressed to the Countess of Cumberland. It is an amplification of Horace's *Integer Vitæ*, and when we compare it with the original we miss the point, the compactness, and above all the urbane tone of the original. It is very fine English, but it is the English of diplomacy somehow, and is never downright this or that, but always has the heart to be so or so, with sentiments of the highest consideration. Yet the praise of *well-languaged*, since it implies that good writing then as now demanded choice and forethought, is not without interest for those who would classify the elements of a style that will wear and hold its colours well. His diction, if wanting in the more hardy evidences of muscle, has a suppleness and spring that give proof of training and endurance. His '*Defence* of Rhyme,' written in prose (a more difficult test than verse) has a passionate eloquence that reminds one of Burke, and is more light-armed and modern than the prose of Milton, fifty years later." ('Works,' vol. iv., pp. 280-82.)

26. Professor William Minto (1885) in 'Characteristics of English Poets from Chaucer to Shirley':—

"Had Daniel lived in the present day, his destiny probably would have been to write scholarly and elegant articles in the magazines, ripe fruits of learned study, cultivated taste, and easy command of polite English. His was not one of the stormy irregular natures that laid the foundation and raised the structure of the English drama: the elements of his being were softly blended, and wrought together mildly and harmoniously. In the prologue to 'Hymen's Triumph' he declares that he has no rude sport to offer—

> "'But tender passions, motions soft and grave,
> The still spectators must expect to have.'

He wrote for Cynthia, and therefore his play—

> "'Must be gentle, like to her
> Whose sweet affections mildly move and stir.'

He might have said the same about all his poetry. He was no master of strong passions: he never felt them, and he could not paint them. Between his Cleopatra and Shakespeare's there is a wide gulf. But he is most exquisite and delicate in pencilling 'tender passions, motions soft and grave.' Without being strikingly original, Daniel has a way and a vein of his own. He fills his mind with ideas and forms from extraneous sources, and with quietly operating plasticity reshapes them in accordance with the bent of his own modes of thought and feeling. He had not the Shakespearean lightning quickness in adaptation and extension; the process in him was more peaceable and easy. The diction of his poems is choice; the versification easy and flowing. He often puts things with felicitous terseness and vigour, and his words almost invariably come together happily and harmoniously." Then of the Sonnets: 'They have all Daniel's smoothness and felicity of phrase, and are pervaded by exceedingly sweet and soft sentiment. Though they rouse no strong feelings, they may be

dwelt upon by a sympathetic reader with lively enjoyment." Further: "Daniel's genius is best shown in the expression of bereaved love in the 'Complaint of Rosamond' and in 'Hymen's Triumph'—as Spenser said, 'in tragic plaints and passionate mischance.' In the expression of courtship love, his imagination is cold and acts artificially and mechanically; but when the beloved object is taken away, he is moved to the depths, and pours forth his strains with genuine warmth. The passion has still a certain softness in it; his lovers have not the inconsolable fierce distraction of Shakespeare's forsaken lover, 'tearing of papers, breaking rings atwain': they do not shriek undistinguished woe; but they sigh deeply, and their voices are richly laden with impassioned remembrance. The plaintive sorrow of Thyrsis is sweet and profound. But nothing that Daniel has written flows with surer instinct and more natural impulse than the agonised endearments of Henry over the body of Rosamond. Wholly different in character from the frantic doting of Venus over her lost Adon, these verses are hardly less perfect as the utterance of a milder and less fiercely fond passion. The deep heart's sorrow of the bereaved lover makes itself felt in every line" (pp. 191-5).*

27. PROFESSOR GEORGE SAINTSBURY, in his 'Elizabethan Literature':—

"The poetical value of Daniel may almost be summed up in two words—sweetness and dignity. He is decidedly wanting in strength, and despite *Delia*, can hardly be said to have had a spark of passion. Even in his own day it was doubted whether he had not overweighted himself with his choice of historical subjects, though the epithet of 'well-languaged,' given to him at the time, evinces a real comprehension of one of his best claims to attention. No writer of the period has such a command of pure English, unadulterated by xenomania and unweakened by purism, as Daniel. Whatever unfavourable things have been said of him from time to time

have been chiefly based on the fact that his chaste and correct style lacks the fiery quaintness, the irregular and audacious attraction of his contemporaries. Nor was he less a master of versification than of vocabulary. His *Defence of Rhyme* shows that he possessed the theory: all his poetical works show that he was a master of the practice. He rarely attempted and probably would not have excelled in the lighter lyrical measures. But in the grave music of the various elaborate stanzas in which the Elizabethan poets delighted, and of which the Spenserian, though the crown and flower, is only the most perfect, he was a great proficient, and his couplets and blank verse are not inferior. Some of his single lines have already been quoted, and many more might be excerpted from his work of the best Elizabethan brand in the quieter kind. Quiet, indeed, is the over-mastering characteristic of Daniel. It was this, no doubt, which made him prefer the stately style of his Senecan tragedies, and the hardly more disturbed structure of pastoral comedies and tragi-comedies, like the *Queen's Arcadia* and *Hymen's Triumph*, to the boisterous revels of the stage proper in his time. He had something of the schoolmaster in his nature as well as in his history. Nothing is more agreeable to him than to moralise, not indeed in any dull or crabbed manner, but in a mellifluous and at the same time weighty fashion, of which very few other poets have the secret. It is perhaps by his scrupulous propriety, by his anxious decency (to use the word not in its modern and restricted sense, but in its proper meaning of the generally becoming), that Daniel brought upon himself the rather hard saying that he had a manner 'better suiting prose.' The sentence will scarcely be echoed by any one who has his best things before him, however much a reader of some of the duller parts of the historical poems proper may feel inclined to echo it. . . . The passage from *Hymen's Triumph*, 'Ah, I remember well, and how can I,' shows the sweetness without namby-pambyness which Daniel had at constant command. Something of the same

contrast may be found between the whole of *Hymen's Triumph* and the *Queen's Arcadia* on the one side, and *Cleopatra* and *Philotas* on the other. All are written in mixed blank and rhymed verse, and interlaced and 'enjambed.' The best of the historical poems is by common consent *Rosamond*, which is instinct with a most remarkable pathos; nor are fine passages by any means to seek in the greater length and less poetical subject of *The Civil Wars of York and Lancaster*. The fault of this is that the too conscientious historian is constantly versifying what must be called mere expletive matter. This must always make any one who speaks with critical impartiality admit that much of Daniel is hard reading; but the soft places (to use the adjective in no ill sense) are frequent enough, and when the reader comes to them he must have little appreciation of poetry if he does not rejoice in the foliage and the streams of the poetical oasis which has rewarded him after his pilgrimage across a rather arid wilderness" (pp. 135-9).

28. A. T. QUILLER-COUCH (1894) from 'Adventures in Criticism' (1896):—

"The writings of Samuel Daniel and the circumstances of his life are of course well enough known to all serious students of English poetry. And, though I cannot speak on this point with any certainty, I imagine that our younger singers hold to the tradition of all their fathers, and that Daniel still *renidet in angulo* of their affections, as one who in his day did very much, though quietly, to train the growth of English verse; and proved himself, in everything he wrote, an artist to the bottom of his conscience. As certainly as Spenser, he was a 'poets' poet' while he lived. A couple of pages might be filled almost off-hand with the genuine compliments of his contemporaries, and he will probably remain a 'poets' poet' as long as poets write in English. But the average reader of culture—the person who is honestly moved by good poetry, and goes from time to time to his bookshelves for an antidote

to the common cares and trivialities of this life—seems to neglect him almost utterly."

Then follows this lamentation, bewraying unacquaintance with our edition of his complete Verse (Vols. I. to III., 1885):—

"I judge from the wretched insufficiency of his editions. It is very hard to obtain anything beyond the two small volumes published in 1718 (an imperfect collection), and a volume of 'Selections' edited by Mr. John Morris and published by a Bath bookseller in 1855; and even these are only to be picked up here and there." Further: "I find it significant, too, that in Mr. Palgrave's *Golden Treasury*, Daniel is represented by one sonnet only, and that by no means his best. This neglect will appear the more singular to any one who has observed how apt is the person whom I have called the 'average reader of culture' to be drawn to the perusal of an author's works by some attractive idiosyncrasy in the author's private life or character. Lamb is a staring instance of this attraction. How we all love Lamb, to be sure! Though he rejected it and called out upon it, 'gentle' remains Lamb's constant epithet. And, curiously enough, in the gentleness and dignified melancholy of his life, Daniel stands nearer to Lamb than any other English writer, with the possible exception of Scott. His circumstances were less gloomily picturesque. But I defy any feeling man to read the scanty narrative of Daniel's life and think of him thereafter without sympathy and respect."

Finally—passing over facts of the life and notes thereon already anticipated:—

"I said just now that Daniel had done much, though quietly, to train the growth of English verse. He not only stood up successfully for its natural development at a time when the clever but less largely informed Campion and others threatened it with fantastic changes. He probably did as much

as Waller to introduce polish of line into our poetry. Turn to the famous 'Ulysses and the Siren,' and read [Vol. I., pp. 270-72]. Can any one tell me of English verses that run more smoothly off the tongue, or with a more temperate grace? To speak familiarly, this is as easy as an old shoe. To speak yet more familiarly, it looks as if any fool could turn off lines like these. Let the fool try. And yet to how many anthologies do we not turn in vain for 'Ulysses and the Siren'; or for the exquisite Spring song, beginning—

> 'Now each creature joys the other,
> Passing happy days and hours;
> One bird reports unto another,
> In the fall of silver showers. . . .' (I., 259-60);

or for that lofty thing, the 'Epistle to the Countess of Cumberland.' . . . Certainly, if ever a critic shall arise to deny poetry the virtue we so commonly claim for her, of fortifying men's souls against calamity, this noble Epistle will be all but the last post from which he will extrude her defenders" (pp. 50—60).

And now—as announced in beginning these selected and representative estimates—in returning upon certain things in most of them, it must be permitted me to accentuate that a literary critic writes himself down—ass (and plain speech is demanded) who in the teeth of such a Century of Praise (and beyond) rests satisfied with merely dipping here and there, and thereupon pronouncing as fatuously as Lord Jeffrey, "This will never do."

Take EDMUND SPENSER'S greeting. It is not to read into it more than was meant, but to rightly read what was meant, to find in this opening tribute a call upon him to let himself go, on the ground that he was capable of high success in "whatever course he

pleased to advance himself." No doubt this was over-praise; for Daniel had rigid limitations. None the less it avouches the "poet of poets'" lofty conception of the possibilities and potentialities of his friend's genius. More than that. Let the reader go back on the closing couplet, and mark how unerringly and presciently Spenser puts his finger on what was undoubtedly the central quality of Daniel—viz., pathos and tenderness, "tragicke plaints and passionate mischance." The greatest 'Curiosity of Literature' is that this should have been misread into a summons to the Poet to write 'play-tragedies.' Even so level-headed a critic as Mr. A. H. Bullen, in his life of Daniel in the 'Dictionary of National Biography' (*s.n.*), has continued the prevalent misinterpretation. He says, "Spenser then addressing the poet by name, advises him to attempt tragedy." Not at all. The mere printing of "Tragick" with a capital letter—capitals abounding in Spenser as in all Elizabethans—gave no warrant for transmogrifying "tragic plaints" into "Tragedy Plays." * Whereas, read as I am reading, Spenser practically tells the Poet to go on and work the vein revealed in the 'Complaint of Rosamond.' Clearly 'Rosamond' rather than the "soft laies and looser thoughts" of 'Delia' went to Spenser's heart, and made him recognise in

* It is an ungracious duty to note that in the same Memoir Mr. Bullen misspells as Hayward, Hayman; mistakes Richard Carew for Thomas Carew—the latter having no mention of Daniel; mis-assigns to Bastard an epigram on him that is non-existent, and otherwise has been badly served by his note-book. Need I say that these small matters do not at all affect my very high estimate of the fine enthusiasm, the rare vigilance, the sufficient scholarship, and as a whole the accuracy of his reprints, albeit (*e.g.* in Marlowe) blotted by too many misprints?

the "new shepherd" one who had command of the "fount of tears."

It is the more honourable to Spenser that he should thus and thus early have welcomed Daniel, in that in one of the 'Delia' sonnets there was a hardly mistakable gird at his "aged accents" and allegorising :—

> "Let others sing of Knights and Palladines,
> In aged accents and untimely words;
> Paint shadowes in imaginary lines,
> Which well the reach of their high wits records."
> (IV. i. 73.)

Perchance the laudatory "high wits" softened the implied censure; and doubtless—as with Sidney's dispraise of the antique words of the 'Shepherd's Calendar'—just as doubtless Guilpin's "grandam words" (p. 63) were but motes in the sunshine of his praise—and he credited Daniel with love for the "pure well of English undefiled," or direct and simple English-born speech. It must likewise be remembered that later Daniel turned aside (so to say) to pay fine tribute to Spenser (See vol. iii., pp. 26-7).*

THOMAS NASHE'S praise of the "exquisite paynes" required for the production of so "rare a poem as *Rosamond*" lies like a rose above its thorns in his fierce denunciations of the "dunstical sectaries." It is exceptionally valuable.

* I suppose it may be assumed that Spenser saw Nashe's 1592 surreptitious ed. of 27 of the 'Delia' sonnets appended to 'Astrophel and Stella.' But no doubt the Author's own edition of 1594 complete, and with the 'Complaint of Rosamond' added, also reached him. 'Colin Clout's Come Home Again' is dated 1591 at end of the Epistle, but while an early draft may have been among his papers, 1594 was its real year-date of issue.

DR. GABRIEL HARVEY'S 'praise' could have been done without. That literary ghoul stinks in the nostrils of all honest men. Yet it *is* noticeable that long before WILLIAM BROWNE he recognised the fine English of our Poet.

THOMAS CHURCHYARD and WILLIAM CLARKE bear witness to the honour in which Daniel was held by the best judges.

SIR JOHN DAVIES'S golden praise of our Poet, precious in itself, is still more precious as enabling us to correct a too long and indolently accepted misapplication of two of his Epigrams to Daniel. Unfortunately Dyce—name never to be mentioned without honour and gratitude, spite of his limitations and lack of imagination—in his MARLOWE thus annotates No. 45 :—

"I am sorry to believe that by Dacus (who is spoken of with great contempt in Epigram 30) our author means Samuel Daniel; but the following lines in that very pleasing writer's *Complaint of Rosamond* (which was first printed in 1592) certainly would seem to be alluded to here :

> "Ah, beauty syren, faire enchanting good,
> Sweet, silent rhetorique of persuading eyes,
> *Dumb eloquence*, whose power doth move the blood,
> More than the words or wisdom of the wise," etc. (1611, p. 39).

What a pity this laborious editor did not look an inch or two beyond his own nose and study Epigram 30! Here it is :—

"*In Dacum* 30.

"Amongst the poets Dacus numbred is,
Yet could he never make an English rime;
But some prose speeches I have heard of his,
Which have been spoken many an hundreth time;

The man that keeps the Elephant hath one,
Wherein he tells the wonders of the beast;
Another Banks pronouncèd long agon
When he his curtailes' qualities exprest.
He first taught him that keeps the monuments
At Westminster, his farewell tale to say;
And who him which Puppets represents,
And who him which with the ape doth play:
Though all his Poetry be like to this,
Amongst the Poets Dacus numbred is."

Be it noted that, independent of the absurdity of supposing that Sir John Davies could possibly affirm of Daniel, "he never could make an English rhyme," the "prose speeches" assigned to the same Dacus do not in any single instance belong to Daniel.

Nor is even this all. Let us read Epigr. 45.

"*In Dacum* 45.

"Dacus with some good colour and pretence,
Tearmes his love's beauty 'silent eloquence';
For she doth lay more colour on her face
Than ever Tully us'd his speech to grace."

(Dacus, Davies' works, as before, ii. 42.)

"Silent eloquence" is not identical with "dumbe eloquence," and Daniel was not addressing his Mistress ("love's beauty"), but Rosamond the King (Henry).

Therefore there is not jot or tittle to prove that by Dacus Samuel Daniel was intended. The truth is that the phrase of "dumbe eloquence"—a beautiful and pathetic fancy, reminding us of the murdered queen lying in her stillness, and (if I may illustrate) of the wayside Irish beggar who simply exposed his sores and rags and left them to appeal for him—passed

into common speech (from Daniel probably) and grew to be one of the aped phrases of the gallants and poetasters of the time. Finally, by rare good fortune, John Davies of Hereford, who was Daniel's friend—in his 'Scourge of Folly'—paints for us the real 'Dacus,' and more cannot be necessary to wipe off for ever this stain on alike Daniel's good name and Sir John Davies's.

"*Against Dacus the pott-Poet: Epigr.* 2.

"Dacus keepes company and they keepe him;
And yet he scornes to bee so kept by any:
But each where he in Helicon doth swim,
And for that floud he cannot pay a penny:
For when the reckning's giu'n, and he would say
Here's mine; that floud doth carry mine away:
So when the shott's requir'd, he (out of season)
Reads currant rimes, but giues none other reason."

How grotesquely inapplicable is all this to Samuel Daniel! Evidently some red-nosed tavern rhymester (like Elderton) was hit at by both the Davieses.* It is deplorable that Mr. A. H. Bullen follows in Dyce's footsteps without question.

RICHARD BARNFIELD—a true singer—seems to place the 'Complaint of Rosamond' and the 'Civil Wars' on an equality. Even acerb JOHN MARSTON does not suffer Bishop Hall to escape for his "envious eye" on Rosamond. EDWARD GUILPIN'S I value next to Spenser's invitation.

MICHAEL DRAYTON has perhaps been pressed too far—like Edmund Bolton earlier, whose idle talk possibly

* The late Dr. Brinsley Nicholson first set me on the right scent. See Glossarial-Index under 'Dacus' for a note.

Drayton caught up. I am disposed to think that by "his manner better fitted prose" he simply meant that much of the 'Civil Wars' had 'better' have been written in, *e.g.*, the dulcet prose of the 'History.' But somehow Drayton, as one gets nearer glimpses of him, does not come out well. He has written imperishable things, but seems to have been of an atrabilious and suspicious nature, not without spice of malignant taking up of 'evil reports.' I must give one deplorable evidence from his Address to the Reader in the second part of 'Polyolbion,' where he thus addresses those who had not welcomed the first part very enthusiastically,—"I wish their folly may be hereditary from them to their posteritie, that their children may be [reduced to] beg for foode to the fifth generation, until it may be beyond the memory of man to know that there was any other of their families."

The 'Returne from Parnassus' probably Daniel never saw or heard of. But the charge of "making use of others' wit" is a wholly unsupported one. Perhaps he was (wisely) counselled to give up his model of the Senecan tragedies, *e.g.* *Philotas* and *Cleopatra*. Be this as it may, our Poet is definite and unmistakable in his claim, that what he wrote was all his own, as he self-respectingly declares—

> "What I haue done, it is mine owne, I may
> Do whatsoeuer therewithall I will." *

* Cf. i. 12: and pp. 13-15. Dates clash, so that the 'Queen's Arcadia,' which was not presented to Her Majesty and her Ladies of the University of Oxford (Christ Church) until August 1605, could hardly have been pointed at (unless a later interpolation) in the 'Returne.' But Langbaine thus writes of it: "Whether the scene between Carinus and Amintas, the lovers of Cloris, be borrowed from any ancient poet, I know not; but sure

Arrived now at BEN JONSON, I reckon Gifford's elaborate and passionate vindications of him, in so far as Shakespeare is concerned, as uncalled for in the light of glory of the splendid homage prefixed to the folio of 1623. But abundant evidence remains that the traditional bricklayer had a loose and reckless tongue, and spared none who really or imaginarily crossed his path or refused to yield to his autocracy. An authentic anecdote—verifying all this and more—of the Cavalier poet Thomas Carew and Jonson, is preserved in a letter from James Howell to Sir Thomas Hauk, April 5th, 1636. I reproduce it here :—

"I was invited yesternight to a solemn supper by *B[en] J[onson]*, where you were deeply remembered: there was good Company, excellent Cheere, choice Wines, and jovial welcome. One thing intervened, which almost spoiled the relish of the rest, that B[en Jonson] began to engross all the Discourse, to vapour extremely of himself, and by vilifying others to magnify his

I am that in Monsieur Quinault's *La Comedie sans Comedie* there is a scene betwixt *Filence* and *Daphnis* in a manner the same (Act ii., sc. 4), as the two next scenes between the shepherds and their mistress Clomire exactly resemble the scene (Act ii., sc. 7) betwixt the swains Damon and Alexis, and the inconstant nymph Lauranda, in Randolph's 'Amyntas'" (*s.n*). Mr. Bullen says of the 'Returne' that it is "a sneer that seems ill justified"; but I would scarcely call it a 'sneer,' accompanied as it is with such high praise of Daniel's native capacity. We could spare the whole of the 'Queen's Arcadia'—a mere Inigo Jones spectacle—without sensible loss. And it does not touch the Poet's claim, "what I have done is mine own." I do not like the duty, but it is again needful to state that Mr. Quiller-Couch's neat little theory of the 'imitativeness' of all great poets is pure assumption in the case of Daniel. One asks, Whom did he imitate? What did he imitate? Reminiscences of the Senecan tragedies, albeit these are shadowy, is one thing, and this imaginary imitativeness another and different thing. The 'Returne of Parnassus' has no reference whatever to the latter. Yet by itself the warbled poetic prose in the places is excellent (pp. 56 and 246-56), but to be read *cum grano salis*.

own Muse. T. Ca[rew] buzzed me in the ear, that though *Ben* had barrelled up a great deal of knowledge, yet it seems he had not read the *Etheques*, which among other Precepts of Morality, forbid Self-Condemnation," *—with more, severer.

William Drummond of Hawthornden, in his 'Notes of Conversations,' tells us much the same thing—not spitefully or falsely, but in integrity. So finished a gentleman self-evidently was not 'taken' by his rough guest, notwithstanding his genius :—

"January $16\frac{19}{20}$: He [Ben Jonson] is a great lover and praiser of himself; a contemner and scorner of others; given rather to lose a friend than a jest; jealous of every word and action of those about him (especially after drink, which is one of the elements in which he liveth). . ." †

These two independent witnesses may well be left to discount Ben's repudiation of 'jealousy.' Not only so, but there can be no question (I think) that Daniel's place at Court as "licenser" of Masques and other entertainments stood in Jonson's way as he elbowed to the front.‡ Conceded that Jonson's "Masques" were an immeasurable advance on all others—only *Hymen's Triumph* holds its own—it is just possible that Daniel showed a sense of soreness against his pushing

* Jacobs' edition of the famous 'Letters,' 2 vols. (1892), pp. 403-4.

† Cunningham's Gifford's Jonson *in loco*.

‡ On 31st January, 1603-4, Kirkham and others were licensed to form a company of "children of the revels to the Queen," with this proviso that "all plays" must be first "allowed by Sam. Danyell"; and again on 10th July, 1615, George Buck, Master of the Revels, wrote that "the king has been pleased at the mediation of the queen on behalf of Sam. Danyell, to appoint a company of youths to perform comedies and tragedies at Bristol under the name of the Youths of Her Majesty's Royal Chamber of Bristol"—Daniel then residing in the neighbourhood of Bristol. In 1618 the same post was conferred on John Daniel, the Poet's brother.

antagonist thereby. But it was ineffably mean on "rare Ben's" part to traduce our 'gentle poet' to his patron-friend the Countess of Rutland. Faults on both sides must perhaps be our verdict; but the greater with Jonson. Specifically he cannot really have read the "Civil Wars." For (as our quotation shows) he thus preposterously spoke of the poem: "Daniell wrott Civill Warres, and yet hath not one battle in all his book." The simple fact is that 'battles' abound, and in none of all the eight books do we need long to read to come on them. On this onward.

Nor was it less unrighteous in Jonson to parody and spoil the fine opening of 'Delia' (Sonnet 1)—

"Unto the boundlesse Ocean of thy beautie
Runnes this poor riuer, charged with streames of zeale,"

into

"Unto the boundless ocean of thy face
. . . . . with streams of eyes."

'Face' for 'beauty' and 'eyes' for 'zeal' was damnable.*

WILLIAM BROWNE'S "well-languaged Daniel" I do not for one moment question was meant for noble praise. But unluckily it has been taken up as a kind of cuckoo note, and an exaggerated value placed on his mere wording. Even Professor Saintsbury pronounces it to have been an unusually penetrative discernment.

EDMUND BOLTON, I believe with Drayton, simply intended, by "fitter perhaps for Prose than measure,"

* I half suspect that Daniel had Jonson in his thought when he wrote—

"So had I not beene tax'd for wishing well,
Nor now mistaken by *the censuring stage*."
(Epistle, vol. iii., p. 102, ll. 104-5).

the too great literal historicity of much of the 'Civil Wars.' Otherwise his prior words, "a very pure and copious English," sound very like nonsense.

DR. THOMAS FULLER and JOHN PENNY come well together as mutually playing on the Poet's two names, 'Samuel' and 'Daniel.'

WORDSWORTH'S working into 'The Excursion' the noticeable lines from the 'Epistle to the Countess of Cumberland' and related note, I regard as one of the most precious recognitions of Daniel. The great Poet of our century was chary in taking anything from others, even the highest. Hence this placing of elect lines from Daniel in his 'Excursion' is the more memorable.*

Leaving SOUTHEY to be re-read quietly by those who do not fall in with the depreciation of that good man, and in some respects man of genius, I hope every Reader will surrender himself to the kindling enthusiasm of the great COLERIDGE, and make it a point to turn up the references he makes. Far and away Coleridge is in my judgment the most sane, the most seeing, the most luminous of literary critics.

I am tempted to dwell on Lowell, Minto, Saintsbury, and Quiller-Couch, but each is so appreciative and whole-hearted that one may safely leave minor mistakes to be corrected (where not already done) by the student of Daniel. I content myself with a very few words on each.

a. JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL. As our Glossarial-Index abundantly evidences, it was too strong to put

* With reference to Wordsworth's note, he is certainly mistaken in saying that Daniel found the italicised couplet in Seneca. There is nothing whatever in any manner of way resembling it in all the Senecan Plays. See more on this onward.

it, "Writing two hundred and fifty years ago, he stands in no need of a glossary, and I have noted scarce a dozen words, and not more turns of phrase, in his works that have become obsolete." Then, no one who knows will agree that in the 'Epistle to the Countess of Cumberland' he took for model Horace's *Integer Vitæ*. They differ *toto cælo*; and DERWENT COLERIDGE admirably meets such type of over-ingenious scholarship by his remark on Hartley Coleridge's contrast between *the* Milton and his brother Sir Christopher—"Where there is no competition there ought not to be comparison" ("Marginalia," as before).*

I think too that the general application (misapplication) of his quotation from the 'Masque at Court' will be recognised as uncritical. I for one like to find a jet of humour in his phrasing of—

"The *still* spectator must expect to have."

Was ever the decorum—the stiff propriety of a Court-audience better hit off? But the fault of faults by omission in Lowell's criticism is a revelation of how very superficial and second-hand was this somewhat omniscient critic's knowledge of his Author. I refer to the fact that he actually has not a syllable on perhaps the greatest elegiac lament in our tongue—for Stella's Devonshire. But much must be forgiven to the man who so unstintedly proclaimed the "imperishable stuff" of 'Rosamond,' 'Musophilus,' and the 'Defence of

* Daniel himself in the 1603 folio title-page expressly announces that the "Certaine Epistles" are "after the manner of Horace" and not *Integer Vitæ* (Odes, b. i. 22), but Epistle (b. i., x) may possibly have been in his mind, albeit in the most shadowy way. Sir Theodore Martin in his Horace gives close parallels from Milton, Cowper, and Robert Burns, with *Integer Vitæ*, but Daniel yields none.

Rhyme.' With reference to the last, let the Reader who doubts slowly study the 'Defence,' and he will agree with every word of the eulogy. Nor would I forget to accentuate the basis of fact on which the splendid metaphor of the 'table-land' rests. Daniel does ascend and 'mount' and lift.

b. PROFESSOR MINTO. Like Lowell, this critic generalises from a chance quotation from a Masque. He shows slender knowledge of the emotion—the passion—the genuine feeling that informed the blood and warmed the imagination of Daniel. It is to me simply astounding how any man could read 'Delia' without recognising the lava-tide of emotion that beat in his now 'disdained' and now 'favoured' heart; while the 'Complaint of Rosamond' in its sweet pathos, and his 'Epistles' and incidents in the 'Civil Wars' reduce to grotesqueness such a dictum as this: "He was no master of strong passions; he never felt them, and he could not paint them." Comparison of Daniel's 'Cleopatra' with Shakespeare's is singularly inept; and how earless to miss the music of his lyrics 'Ulysses and the Siren' (Vol. I., pp. 270-72), and the delicious Spring Song or Ode, "Now each creature joys the other" (Vol. I., pp. 259-60)!

Neither our love for the winsome memory of Minto or gratitude for his actual literary achievements, or the inestimable value of his "other words" on Daniel, must blind us to his imperfect acquaintance with Daniel's Poetry. He passes over 'Musophilus' and the Devonshire Lament. No man who could do that—even a Lowell or a Minto—had real first-hand knowledge or insight or an ear.

c. PROFESSOR SAINTSBURY. I cannot but rejoice that my edition of the Verse of Daniel won from Professor Saintsbury such painstaking study, and drew from him in "picked and packed words" (if somewhat floreated) a verdict that is substantively sound and charmingly sympathetic. I owe him likewise an admirable examination of the Senecan Plays of Daniel* —only I must add that therein he strangely forgot the 'Mirror for Magistrates,' Samuel Brandon, and Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, the "Anthony" of the Countess of Pembroke—largely original as well as translated. These all belong to the same category.

There are four points in my good friend's criticism that I must notice :—

1. How could he overlook—like Lowell and Minto —the Devonshire Lament?

2. He recurringly speaks of Daniel's "lack of strength." This seems to me exceptionally uncritical. There is strength *and* strength. There is the tumid and turgid 'strength' say of *Festus*, and there is the disciplined and subtle 'strength' say of *Samson Agonistes*. Let the places indicated by Coleridge and

* Vol. III., pp. vii-xi. I hope it is not ungracious to say that it seems to me very doubtful, after reading critically the whole of the Plays ascribed to Seneca, that Seneca really was his model in either *Cleopatra* or *Philotas*. *Certes*, no single thought or image is traceable to any one of them, albeit, oddly enough, in Thomas Newton's "Tenne Tragedies translated into Englysh" (1581), by Jasper Heywood, Studley, Nuce, young Nevyle, and Newton—one haps on occasional lines that must have been read by Daniel —*e.g.*, a Chorus in *Hercules Furens* recals the Epistle to the Countess of Cumberland. It must also be remembered that Daniel himself expressly states in his Apology that *Philotas* was fashioned after the "ancient forme of a Tragedy," a phrasing that makes one think not of the debased and degenerate plays of Seneca, but of the Greek masterpieces. (Vol. III., p. 179.) See Glossarial-Index under 'Seneca' for a note.

by myself onward, be turned to and thought out, and it will soon be found that one special quality of Samuel Daniel is the inevitableness with which he rises when any 'strong' appeal is made to either his imagination or his patriotism. The simple 'strength' with which he works out a great metaphor is something wonderful, as Coleridge saw. Not only so, but intellectual strength characterises all through the thought, the emotion, the utterance of the Epistles, *e.g.*, to the Countess of Cumberland—Earl of Southampton—and the immortal Devonshire Lament. There is the pliant strength of a shirt of mail in all these and many others.

3. Like Professor Minto, he actually says "he can hardly be said to have had a spark of passion." My answer to the one professor must stand for answer to the other. On fit occasion Daniel throbbed and burned with 'passion.'

4. His observation "he rarely attempted, and probably would not have excelled in the lighter lyrical measures." Let the priceless 'Ulysses and the Sirens,' and the 'Spring Ode' already named, bear witness to the contrary.

d. QUILLER-COUCH—the immortal 'Q.' It was a great joy to me to come on this *causerie*. In former footnotes and in Glossarial-Index I have felt conscience-bound to put right certain unexpected blunderings. But the criticism is to me—and I feel sure will be to all lovers of Daniel—of priceless worth for its tenderness and happy, however discursive, phrasing. I could hardly have wished a better closing of my 'testimonies.'

Having thus placed before my readers, actually and by references, a 'Century of Praise'—applying

Dr. Ingleby's title of his famous Shakespeare collection —of earlier on to later critics, and made such corrective and explanatory comments as seemed called for, I claim now for Samuel Daniel a high and sure place in our great Elizabethan-Jacobean literature on these SEVEN grounds:—

1. For his '*Delia*' sonnets, as being exquisitely wrought, and as having historically led Shakespeare to his Sonnet-form. I find more than art in 'Delia'—I find a genuine record of the lights and shadows of a real passion.* But for their art alone these sonnets were epoch-making. That they 'sing' only of love, never passing into the grandeurs of the Sonnet as it became in the hands of Milton and of Wordsworth, is not to be made a fault. It shows lack of a historical sense to think otherwise. As well complain that gas was not burnt in the days of candles. It was not till long after 'Delia' that the Sonnet burst its narrow bounds and 'intermeddled' with every possible experience. Love, and only love, was its theme, save in merely laudatory and dedicatory Sonnets—*e.g.*, Spenser, with the *Fairy Queen*, and Daniel's own commendatory Sonnets.

2. For his '*Complaint of Rosamond*.' This must ever abide unsurpassed for its pathos and delicacy and daintiness of workmanship.

3. For his already frequently designated Lament for the Earl of Devonshire and most of the 'Epistles.'

4. For 'brave translunary things' in every book of the 'Civil Wars.'

5. For 'Hymen's Triumph,' as melodious and

* See Glossarial-Index under 'Love' for proofs.

gracious and equal to anything contemporary of the kind.*

6. For his 'Defence of Rhyme.' Had he done no more than smashed Campion and Harvey's preposterous hexameter themes and vagaries, our national literature had been his debtor. Very fine too is his gracious and graceful early recognition of Campion's genius (apart from his verse-heresies).

7. For his choice English all through—Verse and Prose. There can be no question that he largely shaped and coloured our English tongue in its making. No writer of the period, or of any period, was so fastidious and painstaking in his composition and revision. Even his shorter poems invariably prove to have been retouched in different editions.†

Surely these Seven things do not go beyond Daniel's rightful claims. Surely our national literature had been poorer without any one of them. And surely, this being so, his memory is to be held in grateful affection, and his Works deserving of closer and sympathetic study?

At this point I am not unwilling to make an admission. I will concede that you need to have love and enthusiasm in your heart to carry you through the Works of Daniel. I have explained (I think) correctly all that was meant by Edmund Bolton and Michael Drayton. I recognise that the 'Civil Wars' as a whole

* See Appendix to this 'Memorial-Introduction' for MS. various readings.

† It is stated *in loco* (i. 294) that there is an autograph MS. of the verse-address to Bp. Montague, in H.M. Public Record Office, London, but collation yields (except different spelling occasionally) only these two various readings: l. 7, 'can' for 'may,' and l. 63, 'with' for 'which.'

was more fit for Prose than measure. But with every concession along this line I protest against the merely incidental 'prosaic' in Daniel being taken as typical of his genius. So far from this being the case, the 'prosaic' in even the 'Civil Wars' is the merest tithe over-against the singing and ringing verse. Nay, more —just as in Wordsworth, who greatly admired Daniel, and, as we have seen, has worked in lines from him— by the very 'prosaic' nature of much of his blank verse and other poems, the more strikingly appears his inspiration when he is his true self, and girt about with his "singing robes"; so, in a sense, 'prosaic' may be allowed of a small proportion of Daniel's verse— infinitely less than in Wordsworth—but that leaves untouched the true poet's soul, his God-given dower of genius and song. He *is* a Maker. He *is* a Singer.

I hope this collection of the Works of Daniel will fall into the possession only of those who are willing to take pains to master a true Poet. Accordingly I place here pencil-markings in my own copy of the several volumes. I shall be disappointed if in any single instance the references given be not found rewarding, and a verification of all I have claimed for Daniel.

Vol. I.: pp. 35, 37, 40 (= v.), 42 (= viii.), 44 (= xii.), 46 (= xv.), 48 (= xvii.), 49 (= xx.), 52 (= xxiii.), 62 (= xxxviii.), 63 (= xxxix.), 64 (= xli.), 72 (= liiii., copied many times), 75 (= lviii.), 76 (= lix.), 87, 88, 90, 96, 97, 104, 110, 111, 130, 162, 169 to 188, 198 to 202, 203 to 207, 209 to 212, 213 to 216, 217 to 219, 221 to 256.

Vol. II.: pp. 17, 22, 25, 28, 32, 37, 39, 44, 46, 47, 49, 53, 57, 59, 71, 73, 79, 80, 83, 85, 87, 90, 91, 97, 98, 101, 104, 109, 122, 124, 125, 134, 137, 149, 156, 177, 186, 191, 198, 199, 219, 223, 237, 249, 253, 266, 267, 268, 270, 271, 273, 284, 308, 318, 319, 322, 328. Some of the battles (with reference to Ben Jonson), 152, 156, 242, 248.

Vol. III.: pp. 26, 46, 47, 58, 59, 61, 62, 65, 67, 77, 78, 84, 86, 87, 90, 110, 112, 113, 119, 123, 134, 138, 143, 148, 151, 174, 202, 204, 232, 293, 298, 333, 338, 344, 352, 355, 373, 376, 385, 397.

Even these relatively full references are merely selective, or what have arrested myself in reading and re-reading. Doubtless others will be struck with different places. But if these be followed up and held in a firm grasp, no further plea will be needed to gain for Samuel Daniel love and homage as a born Poet.

In turning now to the Prose, my own verdict would be a mixed one. 'Well-languaged' still holds of his vocabulary, and as a whole the narrative is well-wrought, often terse and memorable, while throughout there is a sense for literature very distinctive of Daniel's slightest work. But oftener than one would wish, the sentence-making is formless and merely cumulative clauses. I refer here to his 'History' alone; for his 'Defence of Ryme' is a piece of splendid English.

The merit of the 'History' is that he took pains and went to all available sources—not limiting himself, as Hallam with characteristic blundering says, "to the common authorities," but searching out primary MSS.,

and drawing on the rich resources of Sir Robert Cotton and William Camden and other of his scholar-friends.* So that we have all along conscientious search and research for the truths of fact and facts of truth. His own claim is an extremely modest one, as follows :— "For the Worke itselfe, I can challenge nothing therein but onely the sewing it together, and the observation of those necessary circumstances and inferences which the History naturally ministers." † There is infinitely more than 'sewing together.' There is wide observation, penetrative pondering, sagacious insight of springs of action, acute and shrewd detection of motives and impulses, and a rare soundness of judgment amid conflicting opinions. I must also emphasise that the additional words, "the observation of these necessary circumstances and inferences which the History naturally ministers," hardly prepares us for his statesmanly verdicts on men and things; his sagacious political teaching by events and characters; his innumerable axiomatic summaries; his wise aphorisms and sound common sense; his half-sarcastic, half-pitiful reflections on the doings of kings and nobles, with hard hits; nor for his thousand-and-one anecdotes, scattered from commencement to close, that yielded so many tit-bits, *e.g.*, to the quaint and learned Puritan commentator, John Trapp, M.A., who is never weary of citing 'Mr. Daniel's History.'

Shakespeare himself was not more proud of "this England" than Samuel Daniel.‡

* See Glossarial-Index under Cotton; and iv. 75-6, etc., etc.

† Vol. IV., p. 83.

‡ See Vol. II., pp. 9, 10, 48, 54, 132, 195, 203, 222.

One characteristic of Daniel must be accentuated—that when the tidal wave of a great national event, or personality, or action that appealed to patriotism rolls in, he rises with it, is never submerged by it. Again and again I have found myself stirred in my blood (as with Michael Drayton's 'Agincourt') as I came on eloquent defences of the liberties of the people, and denunciations of however high-placed wrong-doers. As a Scot I honour Daniel supremely for his conception and estimate of Sir William Wallace and Robert Bruce and other national heroes, where everything tended to becloud the Historian's vision and prejudice him.*

Now, having given my margin-jottings on the Verse, I place here the like on the Prose. I do not think any Reader is likely to regret giving the time required to turn to these references.

Vol. IV.: pp. 29 to 67, 79, 80, 81 to 83, 86, 87, 88, 89, 91, 92, 93, 95, 96, 97, 99, 101, 106, 108, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 122, 129, 132, 137, 140, 156, 160, 166, 167, 168, 176, 177, 181, 183, 194, 203, 212, 215, 223, 258, 259, 260, 263, 264, 266, 267, 268, 270, 271, 273.

Vol. V.: pp. 1, 7, 9, 10, 11, 14, 25, 28, 29, 31, 33, 35, 36, 37, 43, 44, 46, 67, 72, 75, 76, 79, 90, 95, 98, 100, 104, 105, 108, 112, 117, 118, 119, 120, 122, 124, 134, 139, 140, 142, 144, 148, 152, 153, 155, 157, 158, 161, 162, 163, 164, 166, 168, 170, 172, 174, 176.

* See Glossarial-Index under 'Wallace' and 'Bruce,' and also under 'Wales.'

It will round off what I have thus far said and submitted, similarly to give references to Daniel's quiet but assured sense of his permanent after-fame wherever our English speech went. Some of the places will reward reflection on them: Vol. I., pp. 3, 4 to 7, 9, 10, 11, 12 to 15, 35.*

I hope I have fulfilled my engagement of a 'Critical' second part to this 'Memorial-Introduction' sufficiently to be of some little help to those willing and wishful to be helped. I am not conscious of Macaulay's Boswellism. But I am free to confess that the more I have turned to and returned on these now completed Works, I have been the more drawn to Samuel Daniel. I venture also to assume that I have rendered some service to our national literature by being the first thus to collect and worthily present his Works, as it has been my privilege to have done with many others—*e.g.*, Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke (4 vols.), Richard Crashaw (2 vols.), George Herbert and Christopher Harvey (4 vols.), Andrew Marvell (4 vols.), Sir Philip Sidney (2 vols.), Phineas Fletcher (4 vols.), Sir John Davies (3 vols.), Henry Vaughan (4 vols.), Robert Greene

* The following from 'Delia' are to be specially noted for the unmistakableness wherewith he assures his lady-love that she would owe her immortality to his Muse. One would have thought that so odd, not to say ungallant, a reminder none other would care to repeat. But those familiar with Elizabethan-Jacobean poetic literature know that it is not at all exceptional. Even Spenser so far forgot himself as to employ the like. But the queerest appropriation of the idea was by Thomas Carew: 48, 65, 66, 74, 75. I add pp. 112, 113; 187, 226, and vol. iii., pp. 24, 25, 26, 27. Cf. Carew (Ebsworth's ed., 1893), "In grateful beauty threatened" (p. 15); "A pastoral Dialogue" (p. 41). The following places beyond all question bewray reading of 'Delia,' pp. 3, 4, 5, 7, 21—not at all to Carew's dishonour.

(15 vols.), Thomas Nashe (6 vols.), Thomas Dekker (5 vols.), Dr. Gabriel Harvey (3 vols.), Nicholas Breton (2 vols.), Francis Quarles (3 vols.), John Davies of Hereford (2 vols.), Dr. Joseph Beaumont (2 vols.), Henry More (1 vol.), Abraham Cowley (2 vols.), Joshua Sylvester (2 vols.), and the long series of 'Unique and Rare Books,' etc., etc.

Anything else promised in 'Memorial-Introduction' (I. Biographical, II. Critical) or called for, will be found in the Glossarial-Index. I expressed a hope of adding somewhat to the facts of the Biography.* But only one letter additional has turned up—at Hatfield. By the kindness of the Marquis of Salisbury I print here this letter, which it will be seen is almost parallel with that already given (I. xxii-iii) addressed to the Earl of Devonshire, and wherein he speaks of having "fully satisfied my L. of Cranborne."

"To Lord Viscount Cranbourne, 1605.

"Right honorable my good L:

"My necessitie I confess hath driven me to doo a thing unworthy of mee, and much against my harte, in making the stage the speaker of my lynes; w^ch^ never heretofore had any other theater then the universall dominions of England w^ch^ so long as it shall keepe the tongue it hath, will keepe my name & travayles from perishing. And for this tragedie of Philotas, wherein I sought to reduce the stage from idlenes to those grave presentments of antiquitie used by the wisest nations, I protest I have taken no other forme in personating the Actors that performd it then the very Idea of those tymes as they appeared unto mee both by the cast of the storie and the universall notions of the affayres of men; w^ch^ in all ages

* Vol. I., x.

beare the same resemblances, and are measured by one and the same foote of understanding. No tyme but brought forth the like concurrencies, the like interstriving for place and dignitie, the like supplantations, rysings & overthrowes, so that there is nothing new under the sonne, nothing in theas tymes that is not in bookes, nor in bookes that is not in theas tymes. And therefore, good my Lord, let no misapplying wronge my innocent writing, w^{ch} in respect of myne owne reputation, undertaking such a subject, I must not make frivolous, or unlike my stile, understanding the world & the probable course of those tymes. But yf it shall seeme skandalous to any by misconceiveing it, and your ho: be so pleased, I will finde the meanes to let it fall of it self, by withdrawing the booke & mee to my poore home, pretending some other occasion, so that the suppressing it by authoritie might not make the world to ymagin other matters in it then there is. Onely I would beseach my L: of Northampton & your ho: (seeing the tyme will yeald me no grace nor comfort & that my studies, my faculties are unnecessarie compliments of the season) to bestow some small viaticum to carry me from the world, where I may bury my self, & my writings out of the way of envie, & live in some other kind, more agreeing to my harte & the nature of my studies, and where yf you will doo me good I will labour to doo you all the honour & service I may, and be most faythfully

"Your honours in all humilitie,

"SAMUEL DANYEL."

Addressed: "To the right honorable my worthy good L: "the Lord Vicont Cramborne" [*sic*].

Endorsed: "Mr. Samuel Daniel to my Lord, 1605."

"1 p."

[Hatfield] Cecil Papers, 191 / 123.

The Hist. MSS. Commission (pp. 163, 202), by Mr. Horwood, reports that at Longleat there is a letter

of National Biography,' *s.n.* Born 1578; died 1654. He was the eldest son of William Kerr of Ancrum, by Margaret, d. of Dundas of Fingask. He died in abject poverty in exile at Amsterdam. His dead body was arrested for debt, but Cromwell interfered and the funeral proceeded. The 'Letters' of this brilliant but unfortunate nobleman have been recently published. He had also a vein of poetry. The Lady of 'Hymen's Triumph' was his first wife—Elizabeth, d. of Sir John Murray of Blackbarony.

A. B. G.

I.

PREFACE AND EPISTLES

BEFORE

PAULUS IOUIUS.

1585.

NOTE.

Notwithstanding the title-page's designation of Paulus Jovius's treatise as "the worthy tract," it has long passed into oblivion and has no living interest. Hence we do not reproduce the treatise itself, as we must have done had it been Daniel's own original composition. But in our Memorial-Introduction II.—Critical, in the present volume, I give representative quotations to show its quality, and Daniel's usual excellent English even thus early. All still *quick* are (1) Daniel's Epistle-dedicatory to Sir Edward Dimmock; (2) N. W.'s Epistle to Daniel; and (3) Daniel's Essay by way of preface. These are inevitably included in his Prose. Below is the original title-page. Our exemplar is a fine one of the original and only edition (a duodecimo of 72 leaves = 144 pages).

A. B. G.

THE

Worthy tract of

Paulus Iouius, contayning a

Diſcourſe of rare inuentions, both
Militarie and Amorous
called Impreſe.

VVhereunto is added a Preface contay-
ning the Arte of compoſing them, with
many other notable deuiſes.

By Samuell Daniell late Student
in Oxenforde.

AT LONDON,
Printed for Simon Waterſon.
1585.

TO HIS GOOD

FREND SAMVEL DANIEL,

N. W. Wiſheth health.

Knowe not whether to excuſe your nature (good M. DANIEL) or blame your ſhamefaſtneſſe, which ſo much laboreth (as the vtter enemy of your good name) to defraude your labors of their deſerued Lawrell, & in deſpight of arte to depriue vs of ſo delicate inuẽtions, which the beſt wits in *Europe* haue dedicated to poſteritie: wherein ſurely, you iniurie your countreymen publikely, vnnaturally your frends, and vnaduiſedly your ſelfe. But what can you pretend? The ſeueritie of Cenſors, the nice delicatenes of Courtiers, or the grauetie of Philoſophers? What Philoſophy taught you that? That which is currant may abyde the touch, the yong *Æglets* dare looke

vpon the Sunne, and that which is eloquently poliſhed may abyde the preſſe. Why then may not your *Iouius* looke any man in the face, hauing arte to direct him, authoritie to defend him, all humanitie to pleade for him? If you miſdoubt his grace in the Vniuerſitie, the / Muſes will giue him their voyces, if the ſuffrages of the holy virgins in the Courte, they are *Graces* themſelues. If onely the multitude *Odi profanum vulgus & arceo.* For I ſuppoſe you remember the olde prouerbs: that it is great trouble to make a Couche for a dogge, for that turning himſelfe ſo variably, no man knoweth where to place the Pillowe: and ſo mutable and vnconſtant is the multitude, that it is not for a wiſe man to indeuour to feede their humour or fit their fancies. Yet doe not thinke that euery prudent reader is like to wanton Miſtreſſe *Æmilia*, who would ordinarily flout the firſt line ſhe read: or to curious *Gonzaga*, ſurnamed the Carper, who no ſooner heard a pretie inuention, but would recompence it with his gentell girkes: Or to *Theodorus* ſcollers, which receiued euery thing with their left hand, which their maſter gaue with the right, or to the *Hidropicus*, who hauing no iudgement of taſtes, yet neuer liketh any ſawce, and cõdemneth all Cookes. Therefore I would wiſh you as your frende, neuer to ſmotther ſo ſweete inuentions, for feare of Cenſors, who in words perhaps will debaſe it, which in deede they conceiue not, and controll that they cannot amende, neyther following the counſell of the wiſe, nor the example of the vertuous.

There is another point in your laſt letter, wherein you ſeeme to marre al that you haue made, / and daſh that which ſo cunningly was deuiſed. For ſooth you

bluſh to open another mans ſhop, and ſell *Italian* wares as though you were a Bankerupt in philoſophie, and could not afforde any pritie conceipt without borowing or embeſelling. I pray you Syr, ſhal *Caſtilio* be more reuerenced for his courtier, then *D. Clarke* admired for inueſting him with ſo courtlie robes? ſhall *Menander* be eternized for his *Comedies*, and *Terence* forgot who gaue them credit: Shall *Lambin*, *Cardan*, and *Scaliger*, and the moſt excellent Secretaries of nature, *Plinie*, *Matthiolus* & *Tolet*, ſhall they be leſſe reuerẽced, for perfecting knowledge, thẽ the old Philoſophers for a ſhadowed inuention? ſhal the witte and capacitie of antiquitie ſit in her throne, and diſpoſition & iudgement of poſteritie keepe the dore: no reaſon, the one deuiſed, the other diſpoſed. *Iouius* therefore is bound vnto you, both for abſoluting and blazing his inuẽtions abroad in this famous Iland, and wee are beholding vnto you for reuealing them to vs: wherein truely both arte in tranſlating, & knowledge in iudging, iuſtly may chalẽge their fees. You cannot forget that which *Nolanus* (that man of infinite titles among other phantaſticall toyes) truely noted by chaunce in our Schooles, that by the helpe of tranſlations, al Sciences had their offſpring: and in my iudgement it is true. The *Hebrewes* hatched knowledge, *Greece* / did nouriſh it, *Italie* clothed and beautified it, & the artes which were left as wards in their minoritie to the people of *Rome*, by Tranſlators as moſt carefull Gardiners, are now deduced to perfect age and ripeneſſe. Cõcerning the nakednes of your ſtile (which troubleth you, without the colours or floriſh of *Rhetorique*) *Tullie* commendeth it, al Tranſlators approue it: and no man maketh ſo much accõpt of

the gloſſe as of the ſubſtance: of the gay Iuie buſh as of the wine: Neither could it preiudice you at all (if it were naked as in deede it is pure) becauſe you haue not done it as the *Sybaritæ*, that bad their gueſtes a whole yere before the feaſt, to make ſome expectation of a ſumptuous banket. A toye would require all brauerie: Vanitie all ornaments, and an Aſſe had neede of all his trappings. But your argument is ſuch as can both moue and delight, tickle the eare and ſatiſfie the minde. And our time alſo hath learned to lothe that od riming vaine, and to perſecute the letter is cleane out of faſhion, which begon by a bad portraiture of wit, and is ended by a ripe direction of iudgement. But why doe I rather aunſwere the capcious, then ſatiſfie the graue and modeſt, who at the firſt vewe (I dare preſume vpon their wiſedome) will ſubſcribe to the ſupremacie of the wit of your newe Science. For if Courtiers are inwardly rauiſhed in vewing the Picture of *Fia / metta* which *Boccace* limned. If Ladies entertaine *Bandel* or *Arioſto* in their Cloſets. If Louers imbrace their Phiſition *Ouid* in extremitie of their paſſion: then will Gentlemen of all tribes, much rather honor your *Impreſa*, as a moſt rare Iewell, and delicate *Enchiridion.* For here is not publiſhed a floriſh vpon fancie, or *Tarletons* toyes, or the ſillie Enterlude of *Diogenes*: You profeſſe not *Artem iocandi* or *Potãdi:* You diſcourſe not of *Apuleius* Aſſe: You trifle not as *Cornelius* the *Brabantine*, who publiſhed (Anno 1582) an *Encomion* of *Tuftmockados:* But you preſent vs an order to frame *Deuiſes*, in ſhew glorious, in forme plain, in title ſtraũge: the which is ſo much the more to bee eſteemed, being deriued frõ the moſt pure ſprings *Lucas Contile*, and

Ruſcelli, whom I cannot name without ſome Preface to their commẽdation. What ſhould I recount *Dominicus* and *Alciat*, with whom you ſeeme to haue beene very familiarly acquainted, which addeth much credite to your woorke, and notably hath giuen light to your ſtudies. But concerning the arte of *Impreſe*, I neede not draw the petigree of it, ſith it is knowne that it deſcended from the auncient *Ægiptians*, and *Chaldeans*, in the Schoole of *Memphis:* who deuiſed meanes before Charecters were founde out, to vtter their conceiptes by formes of Beaſtes, Starres, Hearbes, (as you haue declared) and theſe notes were called *ιερογλμφικα / .i. ſacræ notæ.* This Philoſophie was increaſed by *Orus Niliacus*, and *Pythagoras:* & was more plainely reuealed by *Clemens*, *Pauſanias*, *Atheneus:* & in this laſt age reuiued by *Pierius Valerian.* But to what end ſerued this? to ſhadow ſuerly their purpoſes and intents by figures. So counſayled *Plato:* So practiſed the firſt parents of Philoſophie. As by the picture of a Stork they ſignified Αντιπελαργία. By a Serpent pollicie. By an Oliue peace. By a Gote luſt: drawing theſe Charecters frõ the world, as from a volume wherein was written the wonders of nature. Thus was the firſt foundations layd of *Impreſe:* From hence were deriued by ſucceſſion of pregnant wittes *Stemmata* Coates of Armes, *Inſignia* Enſignes, and the olde Images which the *Romaines* vſed as witneſſes of their Aunceſtors, *Emblemes* and *Deuiſes.* Then what was the intẽt of theſe Enſignes and *Deuiſes?* What cauſe can bee pretended for them? What did they import? *Iamblicus* ſaieth that they were conceiptes, by an externall forme repreſenting an inward purpoſe: So *Ferguſus* the firſt Scottiſhe King

did beare in his Standard a *Lion geules*, to bewray his courage, teſtifie his ſtomacke, and diſmaie his aduerſarie, which being well marſhalled, is borne for the atchiuement of the Kinges euer ſince. So did the *Athenians* beare their Owle: the *Thebans* their *Sphinx:* the *Switzers* their Beare. But among all inuentions, ſurpaſſe for witt & art your *Impreſe*: neither lesse renowmed then the *Inſegnes*, nor leſſe heroicall then the Armes called by *Paradin Symbola Heroica*, by *Simeon deuiſes illuſtres. Minoes*, a man otherwiſe excellently qualified in all humanitie, ſemeth neither perfectly to define *Impreſes*, nor artificially to diſtinguiſhe them from *Emblemes.* The ſole worde *Symbolum* euery way is to large and generall a terme for them, ἐξ θυ ἐστιν καὶ μᾶς συμβαλλαν καὶ γνῶμαι, that note by which we know or cã cõjecture any thing, is *Symbolum.* Now in this ſcope and generallitie, how is it reſtrayned, how doth he meaſure and fit that word for *Impreſe? Sumitur hic Symbolum pro argumento ſeu nota qua quod piam occultatur, ſed doctis auribus intelligẽdum proponitur.* There is great ods (my good freend) betwixt this adumbration and your ſubſtantial definition. If we reſpect the forme it is lame, and why ſo? becauſe there is no proper difference to ſupporte it. And this is an infallible grounde: for ſeeing it comprehendeth all the former, *Standards*, *Liurees* & *Armes*, it is rather an vniuerſall note then a ſpeciall *Idea:* if we regarde the circumſtaunces, it is very ſuperficiall: if the final ende, confuſed. Now to come to the difference of *Emblemes*, and *Impreſes*, what ſubtilitie doth he ſhewe in it? *Symbolum eſt genus, Emblema ſpecies:* This motion is to vniuerſall, rather tending to deuide the *genus* then

to define the *ſpecies*: but the / difference muſt bee borrowed, from the properties: and becauſe this is a caſe worthie to be demurred, let vs conſult more curiouſly with our artiſtes, let vs conferre with our profeſſor, what diſtinction maketh *Iouius*? I muſt excuſe him as *Traian* did a certain Poet, *Plus eſt in arte quam in artifice.* For as *Minoes* iudgeth of him, *Artem hanc inchoauit potius quam perfecit.* But in deed theſe two conceipts are allied by ſo greate affinitie, their intents and pictures ſo vniforme, and cõſonant: that without ſharpe inſight wee cannot diſcypher their difference. *Emblema* is deriued of ἐμβάλλω. *interponere, inſerere: quicquid interſeritur ornatus gratia,* whether the inuention bee embrodered in garmentes, grauen in ſtone, enchaſed in golde, wrought in Arras: and in my opinion there is great *imparitie* betweene them, both in body and ſoule. They are diſſeuered by ſondrie Cogniſances, eſtabliſhed by reaſon and confirmed by reading, and may bee authoriſed by experience. The mot of an *Impreſa* may not exceede three wordes. *Emblems* are interpreted by many verſes. An *Impreſa* is not garniſhed with many different Images, *Emblemes* are not limited. In *Deuiſes* it is enacted that the figure without the mot or the mot without the figure ſhould not interprete the Authors meaning. In *Emblems* is more libertie and fewer lawes. *Impreſes* manifeſt the ſpecial purpoſe of Gentlemen in warlike combats or chamber tornaments. *Emblems* are generall conceiptes rather of moral matters then perticulare deliberations: rather to giue credit to the wit, then to reueale the ſecretes of the minde. What ſhould I say more? This *Impreſa*, is that perfect *Symbolum:* for antiquitie

to bee reuerenced: for worthineſſe admired: for pleaſure embraced. Pardon me (I pray you) if I rainge a little & chaſe a diſcourſe in this ſo wide a Forreſt: let me recorde ſome monument of the olde Regiſters of *Greece.*

Agamemnon Soueraigne at the ſeige of *Troy*, bare in his ſheild a *Lion* ſaliant, with this mot ουτος μεν φόβος εστί βροτῶν. *Amphitruo* being encamped againſt the *Thebans*, cauſed to be portrayed vpon his *Target*, *Cum quadrigis ſol exoriens*, and breathed life into that body by this ſoule, *In arduo laurus.* *Artemeſia* to teſtifie her ſelfe a loyall wife to her Lorde and King wore in her Tablet an *Eliotropium*, riſing and falling with the Sunne, adding this mot, *Perſoluet vota pietas*, which was verified, for ſhe enterred the aſhes of her ſlain huſband, in no other Tombe then in her owne body, ſo that death could ſcarſe diuorſe them. But let vs come nigher hande. *Vaſcus Gama* being diſwaded from the *Indian* voyage (neuer before attempted) erected a globe elumined with Starres, vpon a piller of golde, with this ſentence *Vndique par:* reſpe/cting the auncient verſe, *Vndique ad ſuperos tantundem eſt viæ.* Haue not our Printers alſo of late honored this profeſſion? Haue they not bene at emulation for ingenious *Deuiſes*? *Stephen* glorieth in his tree, and moderateth thoſe (that loue to moũt by loftie witts) with this Poſie: *'Noli altum ſapere.* (The tree of good and ill.) *Plantin* beareth a compaſſe in a hande ſtretched out of the cloudes which meaſureth all, *Conſtantia & labore.* I will omit *Griphius Epiſcopus*: I will forget all artificers, who commonly buy ſuch inuentions at the ſecond hand. I will not meddle with Courtiers, I will paſſe ouer the knowen *Impreſes* of *Moore* and *Cromwell*, a payre royall

of nobles. And now I will bring you to Church. A certain Engliſh Prelate, deuiſed a Lambe in a thorne buſh, pitifully inflamed, yet caſting his eyes cherefully vppon the Sunne with this mot. *Ne cede.* Tell me how you like this *Heroycall Impreſa* of *Curtius Gonzaga. Tu ne cede malis ſed contra auretius.* An *Egle* flying on high againſt the Sunne, with this word *pur che*, a parte of that verſe of *Petrarche. Pur che ne godan gli orchi, ardan le piume.* For that which delighteth my eyes burneth my fethers. A frend of mine, whom you know, M. P. climing for an *Egles* neſt, but defeated by the *mallalent* of fortune, limned in his ſtudie a *Pine* tree ſtriken with lightning, carying this mot, *Il mio ſperar*, which was borowed alſo from *Petrarch. Allor che fulminato e morto giaacque il mio ſperar che | tropp' alto mintana.* (*My hopes.*) Yet in deſpight of fortune he deuiſed alſo a Pinnace or ſmall Barke, toſſed with tempeſtious ſtormes, and in the ſaile was written *expectanda dies*, hoping as I think for one Sunne ſhine day to recompence ſo many glomy and winter monethes. Therfore now to conclude, ſeeing your argument is plauſible, the arte a noueltie, your firſt fruites ripe, what reaſon is there, why you ſhould priuatly beſtowe them of ſome one gentleman: eſpecially cõſidering that you can pleaſe him no way better, then to pleaſure his countrey mẽ. For who doth not know M. *Dimmock*, to be a gentleman by famely worſhipfull, by loyaltie vnſpotted, by office the Princes Champion: ſo alſo by curteſie worthy the Chronicle? what neede you thẽ to feare the mallice of the weakeſt enemy that may bee a carping tongue, hauing him for the Champiõ of your booke, whom her Maieſtie hath vouchſafed the Champion

of her perſon, or why feare you leaſt our old *Academicks* improue your art for a toy, ſeeing that wiſdome is not incorporated to Nightcaps, neither muſt wee depend vpon the verdite of ſome conceled Philoſophers.

Thus am I bold to animate and encourage you to your credite, which if I haue done to long, ſo vppon occaſion did *Tullio*, *Plato*, *Seneca:* if rudely, aſcribe it to ſimplicitie, if ſleightly to the rarenes of your arte: if to copiouſly / to a feruent deſire: for ſeeing that *in verbis eſt aliquod præmium*, I had rather ſhewe my ſelfe to prodigall to my frends, then a ſnudge: which when you haue read, fier it.

From Oxenford the xx. of Nouember.

Yours, N W.

TO

TO THE FRENDLY READER.

Thought it good (right worſhipfull and curteous gentlemen) to communicate with you this delightſome tract of ſtrange deuiſes, barely clothed in an Engliſh habite, voyde of al ſuch ornaments as are due vnto the worthines thereof: preſuming vpon your wiſdomes, who had rather gather a pleaſant flower ſpringing amongſt the ſharpe thornes, for the ſweet ſauour, then a gay colored weede for all the fayre ſemblance: eſteeming the value of the precious treaſure not by the outward ſhewe, but the inward ſubſtance, ſith often we finde by triall meliora latere, *and faire ſhewes to proue often fond ſhadowes. The tree* Calieſtephenon *in* Paleſtine, *hath a corrupt barke, but a pure body: And well may a gallant bloſſome fit the humour of a delicate eye, when the gaynfull fruite ſhall ſatisfie the ſauour of a diſcreet taſte. But the Diamant hath ingendred a naturall forme, ſo that it neede no artificiall frame, a gay gloſſe may better beſeeme a courſe | Kerſey, then a fine Skarlet. My weake commendations of theſe notable and rare inuentions, may rather eclipſe their credit, then purchaſe their fame, therefore I referre them to the cenſure of your conſiderate readers, for whoſe better vnderſtand of the* Impreſe *of* Paulus Iouius (*who*

in many places haue erred from the common receiued precepts) I haue gathered into a certayne order the way of framing and compoſing all ſuch kindes of deuiſes both militarie and amorous vſed at this day of the noble gentlemen of Europe, *in adorning their glorious triumphes, or declaring their inward pretended purpoſes and enterpriſes, not by ſpeach or any apparent maner, but ſhadowed vnder a certayne vayle of formes or figures in ſuch ſort as ſhall hereafter be declared. And although that to ſignifie our intentions by theſe formes or figures of creatures, be not a thing more notable then ſpeech or writing, which perfectly doe manifeſt any operation, whereas the other doth doubtfully diſcouer our pretences. Yet I ſay, that to repreſent vnto the ſence of ſight the forme or figure of any thing, is more natural in act, & more cõmon to al creatures then is hearing, and thereupon ſayth* Ariſtotle, *that we loue the ſence of ſeeing, for that by it we are taught and made to learne more then by any other of our ſenſes: whereby we ſee that all men naturally take delight in pictures, and euen litle children as ſoone as they can vſe their hands at libertie, goe with a Cole to the wall, indeuoring to drawe the forme of this thing or that. This naturall diſpoſition hath | raigned generally euen from the beginning when the worlde was but yet new, and induced nations firſt to figure beaſts, plants, trees, celeſtiall ſignes, and ſuch like, obſeruing the nature and qualitie of euery creature repreſented by their figures, whereby in time they became able to ſhewe their intent to their frends and others vayled vnder the forme of theſe creatures, in which facultie the Ægyptians were moſt ſingulare as the firſt authors of this* Hieroglyphicall *art: as well do witneſſe their ſacred Colomnes dedicated to*

Mercurie, *whereon were diuers formes and pictures wrought and engrauen, contayning great knowledge, which they called* Hieroglyphi, *To the which pillers* Plato *is ſayde to haue gone and retourned with great profit. Yet notwithſtanding, in my opinion their deuiſe was vnperfect, by reaſon of the diuerſitie of the natures of beaſtes and other things which they figured. Whereupon they who drewe more neere vnto our time ſeemeth to haue brought this art to perfection, by adding mots or poſies to their figures, whereby they couertly diſcloſe their intent by a more perfect order. Moreouer beſides the figuring of things corporall and of viſible forme, men haue alſo repreſented things incorporal, which they could not doe more fitly then by colours, as repreſenting ſorowe by blacke, deſire to ſhed bloud by red, puritie by white, &c. And now ſith time hath brought to perfection many notable deuiſes, which rude antiquitie could not diſcerne: Let vs conſider by howe many wayes we may diſcouer our ſecret intentions by | colours and figures, as firſt by Liurees, ſecondly by. Enſignes, thirdly by mots, and laſtly by Impreſe, of which foure kindes of Deuiſes, I purpoſe to ſet downe diſtinctly in fewe words their ſignifications and properties, according to the opinion of the beſt authors which euer haue written of this matter.*

This worde Liuree *is borowed of the Spaniſhe, which they write with* b, librea, *but pronounce it as written with* v. *Some ſay it had his* Etemologiè *of* Libro, *for that* Liurees *are as an opẽ booke where a man may reade the intent of him which weareth them. Some alſo will haue it deriued of* Libero, *and that for two reaſons, the one, in that from the beginning it hath beene a profeſſion onely of Gentlemen, and noble perſonages: and although*

that ſeruaunts do commonly weare theſe Liurees, *yet are they not ſaid to be their owne but their patrones. For* Plutarch *in the life of* Solon *ſaieth, that ſeruauntes were forbidden any free exerciſe. The other reaſon may bee, for that the Authors ſetting them to the common viewe, being not altogether apparent, commit them* libero iudicio, *to the free iudgement of the Interpreter. Some will haue it brought from the Latin,* Liber eram, *for that the principall purpoſe of* Liurees *haue been to ſhewe ſome amorous ſeruice, and for this onely intent were they firſt inuented at the beginning, to ſhewe that they which did weare them, were no more free of them ſelues but ſubiect ſeruauntes to their Miſtriſſes: as who ſhould ſay,* Liber eram, *I was free, but now bound: according to that of* Virgil, / fuimus Troes.

It is ſaid that Liurees *of only colours, had their originall after this manner: that the Gentlemen which loued or rather (to ſpeake after the* Spaniſh *or* Neapolitan *manner) which ſerued any Lady, with that amorous kinde of ſeruice, which is vſed in thoſe places, were accuſtomed, to marke with what coloured robe their Miſtriſſe was inueſted, to the end to decke them ſelues with apparell of the ſame colour & cut. But ſome ſuppoſing that to be to great a preſumptiõ, thought rather to addreſſe thẽſelues in a habite of the ſame colour, as did the domeſticall ſeruantes of their Ladie, to denouate humilitie, and ſhew them ſelues readie for any ſeruice commaunded by her ſoueranitie: Yet now, for diuers reſpectes, in this our time the diſcrete Gentlemen bound to the performance of this ſtrict Obligation of* faith *and* ſecrecie, *haue deuiſed a cloſer couert for their amorous conceiptes, by colours and figures in their* Liurees, *which are now*

more commonly called Deuiſes, *in all the moſt floriſhing Countries of Chriſtendome : which alſo is not forgottē of* Arioſto, *in theſe verſes following, recounting the* Deuiſe *of* Bradamante, *whereby ſhe expreſſed her diſpayre, and deſire to die.*

Era la ſopraueſta del colore
Di ch' eſſer ſuol la foglia, che s'imbianca,
Quando dal ramo è tolta, è che l'humore
Che facea uiuo l'arbore, le manca :
Ricamata à tronconi, era di fuore
Di | cipreſſo, che mai non ſi rin franca
Poi ch' ha ſentito la dura bipenne
L' habito al ſuo dolor molto conuenne.

Thus in effect in Engliſh.

Her vpper robe of ſuch like colour was,
As is the fading leafe of paliſh hew
Whē from the bowe the liuely ſap doth paſſe
Which nouriſh did the ſtock whereon it grew
Embrodered al with braunches thick aboue,
And fading bowes of dolefull Cipreſſe tree :
Which cut with deadly axe doth neuer proue
This habit with her griefe did well agree.

There are firſt, diligently to be obſerued in theſe Deuiſes *or* Liurees *three things : The time when : The place where : and the maner how they are to be vſed. Concerning the time : they are neuer worne but either in true or fained warre, or at Iuſts, Turneis, Maſkes, or at ſuch like extrauagant ſhewes. The place fit for them, are on armed men or Maſkers, worne in ſuch place as*

they beſt like about their perſons: albeit the Helmet, the Shielde, the Bardes, the borders of the garment, or the breaſt, are the fitteſt places appointed for them. The maner of vſing them is diuers, according to their ſpecies*: but firſt generally you are to obſerue this, that they bee not too intricate, in greate number, nor ſo confuſed that they neede ſome* Apollo *to reſolue them. Perticularly it behoueth to note the deuiſion of | their* ſpecies *which are of al kindes of* Deuiſes *or* Liurees *ſixe. The firſt conſiſteth altogether of colours: The ſecond of colours and figures: The third of colours and letters: The fourth of colours, figures and letters: The fifth of figures onely: The ſixth of figures and letters. Concerning the firſt, colours alone, are now ſeldome vſed but of Mourners, or ſuch like. As for example, a certaine Gentleman on a time, hauing ill ſucceſſe in his amorous ſeruice, and ſpending his time in dolor and griefe, was aduertiſed that the wife of a certaine freende of his was departed this life, whereupon it behoued him to put on mourning apparell: and hauing occaſion to ſhewe himſelfe at a feaſt, he clothed him in blacke Grogran drawne out with Taffatie, & both cut on blacke Damaſke, in ſuch ſorte that the Damaſke was beſt ſeene to bee blackeſt: which mourning habite was no ſoner ſeene of ſuch as knewe the hiſtorie of his loue, but they perceiued what it ſignified, as well as if he himſelfe had declared it: and greatly did they commend the inuention. For with the vppermoſt blacke he repreſented ſorowe for the dead: with that vnderneath he mourned for his freend, but his owne blacke appeared more and ſignified ſome greater griefe, and that of his frend ſeemed leſſe, and repreſented leſſe in effect. For in his opinion leſſe griefe was it to bee*

depriued of a wife, ſith ſhe is called to the heauens, then to ſtand ſecluded from the fauour of a proude diſdainefull dame, whileſt an other enioyes the fruite of his deſerued affections. But to returne to our purpoſe, Liurees *of / onely colours, and alſo with colours and figures are wont to ſerue in effect, but for the ſhewe of one day, either at Iuſts, Maſkes, or other ſolemne feſtiuall ſportinges, where are commonly aſſembled a great multitude of people: and to the end that Gentlemen and Gentlewomen (which giue the vew but as they paſſe by, among ſo great a companie) may not ſtande to muſe about the intention of the ſubiect, there is vſed a mot to declare the meaning, & theſe kinde of mots pertayning to* Liurees, *are to bee compoſed in the ſame language which is there vſed where they are preſented: and it is requiſite they bee ſhorte ſo that they exceede not two of our verſes: very rarely are they made of foure, yet ſo they may be if neede require. Theſe mots ſo compoſed ſerue for colours alone, or els for colours accompanied with figures, or with figures alone: and when they ſhalbe ioyned with colours alone, yet are they called* Liurees, *when with colours, figures and the mot, which ſhall exceede three wordes being manifeſt of it ſelfe and ſeruing for no other purpoſe but to declare the ſignification of the colours and figures, they are likewiſe then called* Liurees *or* Inſegnes, *and as I haue before ſayd, they ſerue only for one day. Theſe laſt properties rehearſed, that the mot may paſſe three wordes, and that it muſt be plaine and manifeſt, ſeruing onely to diſcloſe the meaning of the colours and figures: note well, for therein conſiſteth the difference betweene* Liurees *and* Impreſes, *which are altogether diuers. The ignoraunce of which diſtinction deceiued many in the / compoſing of*

Impreſes. *And alſo* Iouius *him ſelf in his diſcourſes following was greatly ouerſene in putting no difference betweene* Impreſes, Liurees, *and* Inſegnes, *as you may plainely perceiue. This worde* Inſegne *is taken from the Latin, by the which is ſignified Standards, Banners, and alſo the Helmets of the chiefe Souldiers and Captaines, as may appeare in this verſe of* Virgil.

Danaumque inſignia nobis.

Aptemus Clypeos, *but chiefly it is now taken for Standards or Banners, which are capable of all ſuch properties mentioned before in* Liurees, *as either of colours alone, as when they are all red, all white, all blacke, &c. Or when they are of ſeuerall colours, as white and red, or in like maner of any other. To them alſo may bee added mots, as many notable men haue vſed of late time: & alſo colours with figures, or figures alone: all in ſuch maner as hath bene ſhewne in* Deuiſes *or* Liurees. *The Enſigne is alſo fit for* Impreſes, *of the which I am hereafter to ſpeake, and many therein ſet the Armes of their houſe: whereof to recite examples this ſhorte Preface will not afforde, ſith ech of them ſeuerally require a whole volume: only ſuffice it, briefly that we touch them, to the end we may the better vnderſtande the forme of* Impreſes: *which before I come to hãdle, it is neceſſary that I ſay ſomewhat of* Mots, *which truely are of great excellencie if they bee gallantly compoſed. And firſt this word* mot *ſignifieth as much as* Gnome, *a ſhorte ſentence or Poſie, whoſe places are diuers. Some vſe / to ſet them on gates, as that which (according to the fiction of the Poet) was ſet on Hell gate.* Laſciate ogni ſperanza voi chi intrate. *Lay aſide all hope, all you which enter in.*

A ridiculous mot or poſie is not to be vſed but in ſome

occaſion of maſkes, or to quip an enemy, as for example, a certaine Cardinal in Rome for ſome offence being impriſoned, and after put to death, it was bruted abroade, that the Pope had done it to pleaſure two of his Nephewes with his liuings, wherupon one liuely pictured the ſayd Cardinall on the Croſſe, and the two yong Cardinals preferred to his liuings, at his feet beholding him with this Poſie in their hands, Crucifixus etiã pro nobis. But the mots which are chiefly vſed, are either amorous or graue, & they beare a great grace if they be perfectly cõpoſed with their circũſtances & properties, ſo that they be ſhort, & exceede not if it be poſſible a verſe in any tongue. Yet Latin & Greek verſes of ſix feete are to long to be vſed whole, wherefore of thẽ it is better to take a part, as nullũ ſcelus error habebat. And better are they eſteemed being takẽ out of ſome famous author. As out of Ouid, Horace, Catullus and other Latin Poets, out of Homer, Heſiodus, Callimachus, or any good author of the Greekes out of Petrarch, Deuine Arioſto, Dãte Bembo, and other famous in the Italian tõgue, & aboue all, if it be poſſible, let them leaue ſome ſcruple whereon to meditate, to him who either readeth or heares them: and it is lawfull to vſe them without figures, although that Paulus Iouius vainly termeth | them ſo vſed, ſoules without bodies.

There is alſo another kind of Deuiſe called in Italian, Cifre celate, which many haue heretofore vſed being ignorant of Impreſe: which inuention is onely for youth, and very vnfit for men of grauitie, ſeruing thẽ but to ſport with their Ladies, by cõuaying their names into ſome Poſie or figure, which they ware in tokẽ of their ſeruice: of this kind you ſhal find fit examples in Paulus

Iouius, *which I haue noted in the* Margent. *The inuention is altogether barraine, and vtterly diſliked of the wiſe.*

Thus hauing briefly touched the principall points of the former Deuiſes, *it reſteth that I ſay ſomewhat of* Impreſes, *which is the moſt notable, ingenious and perfect king of all other. And firſt to declare the ſignification of the worde, with the diffinition, I ſay, that* Impreſa *is vſed of the* Italians *for an enterpriſe, takẽ in hand with a firme & conſtãt intẽt to bring the ſame to effect. As if a Prince or Captaine taking in hand ſome enterpriſe of war, or any other perticulare affaire, deſirous by ſome figure & mot to manifeſt to the world his intẽt, this figure & mot together is called an Impreſa, made to ſignifie an enterpriſe, wherat a noble mind leueling with the aime of a deepe deſire, ſtriues with a ſtedy intẽt to gaine the priſe of his purpoſe. For the valiãt & hautie gentlemen, diſdayning to cõioine with the vile and baſe* Plebeians *in any ruſtique inuention, haue procured to thẽſelues this one moſt ſingulare, which time hath now at length perfited and rought into a more regulare order. And the chiefe places whereon | they vſe to weare theſe their* Impreſes *are their* Standards, Shields, Helmets, Brooches, Tablets *or ſuch like. The time when, is either in Warres, Iuſts, or amorous ſeruices. And you are to note, that* Impreſes *are not Hereditarie, as are Armes, for the ſonne may not vſe the* Impreſa *of father, nor the ſucceſſors of their anceſtors, and it behoueth that they be of no other colours, ſaue onely blacke and white, vnleſſe it be rather to adorne them, then for any neceſſitie, and chiefly in the compoſing of them, are to be noted theſe fiue properties. Firſt, that they haue not many kinds of*

different formes, for at the moſt there can be but three, in a perfect Impreſa, *vnleſſe they be parts of the whole: as the Sunne, Moone and Starres repreſent onely the heauens, which may be the intent of the* Impreſa: *or as many trees, flowers and herbs, repreſent onely a Garden. As for example, a certayne gentleman figured a garden with* Palmes, Bayes, Marigolds *and* Roſes, *with this mot,* Tu hæc omnia, *to ſignifie that his miſtreſſe deſerued the* Palme *for her beautie, & that ſhe was free frõ the aſſalt of* Loue *as is the* Lawrell *frõ the wrath of the heauens, that ſhe drewe the eyes of his mind after her, as doth the Sunne the Marigolde, and that by the vertue of her comfortable lookes ſhe reuiued his heart, as doe the ioyful beames the blowming Roſe. But now in any other caſe diuers formes are not to be vſed.*

Secondly, the mot or poſie of an Impreſa *may not exceede three words, vnleſſe it be compoſed of ſome / of theſe.* Dum. Nec. Et. Non. In. Per. Aut. ſi. Cum. Vt. *and then may it haue foure, as* Nec ſpe nec metu.

Thirdly, that the mot be taken out of ſome famous author. This precept is good, but not alwayes neceſſarie.

Fourthly, that it be not altogether manifeſt nor too too obſcure, neither yet triuiall or common.

Fifthly, that the figure without the mot, or the mot without the figure ſignifie nothing, in reſpect of the intent of the author, and this precept is of great importance, for many ignorant hereof, haue compoſed Impreſe *altogether vayne and voyde of all inuention. As when the figure of it ſelfe or the mot of it ſelfe, ſuffice to declare the meaning: wherfore either the one or the other is ſuperfluous. As he which figured a Harte in the middeſt of fire, with this mot,* Il cuore ho in fuoco, *I haue my Harte in fire, or*

as he which depainted a Cupid, *with his Bowe & ſhafts, & thereunto this verſe,* A gli ſtrali d' amor ſon ſatto ſegno. *To* Cupids *ſhafts I am ordayned the Butte. Or not vnlike to that of him in* Iouius, *which figured a Chimney with a great fire and ſmoke, with this mot.* Doue è gran fuoco è gran fumo, *Where there is great fire, there is great ſmoke, in all which the mot without the figure, or the figure without the mot, might haue ſerued the purpoſe as well. But if vnto the fire & ſmoke had bene added this mot,* Vtrũq ; ſimul, *the* Impreſa *had beene moſt perfect. The like / defect had that of* Borgia, *which likewiſe* Iouius *doth mention, which was the mountayne* Acroceraunii, *wherunto, if in ſtede of* feriunt ſummos fulgura montes *had bene added* Humiliora minus, *or* humiliora nunquam, *therein had wanted no perfection.* Iouius *alſo addeth for a precept in the rules of* Impreſe, *that in them there ought to be no humayne forme : which precept is moſt true, if it be in the ordinarie and ſimple forme of a man, for that rarenes is rather delightſom : but yet when the humaine forme ſhalbe in a ſtrange & vnaccuſtomed maner, it beareth a great grace. As did that of* Sinior Bernabo Adorno, *being inamored of a noble and vertuous Lady, who often certified him both by ſpeach and writing, that the arrowes of loue could not enter or paſſe farther then her gowne. Whereupon the Gentleman compoſed an* Impreſa *which was a* Cupid, *holding in one hand the vaile of his eyes, and in the other hand an Arcobuze ſettled to his breſt, as if he were readie to diſcharge it, and thereunto this mot,* Hoc péraget. *To ſignifie that he had omitted no ſeruice, deuotion, or loyaltie in his purſute, which are the onely maynſhotte of Loue, and are*

able to batter the bulwarke of a rigorous breaſt, and make the moſt flintie heart to yeeld.

Thus haue I in fewe words (gentlemen) declared the properties of a perfect Impreſa, *to the end your choyce therein may be currant, ſith many deceiue themſelues with a counterfeit. And ſo wiſhing the happie ſucceſſe of all your vertuous* Impreſes *and godly | pretences, I referre you to the reading of* Paulus Iouius, *till time my ſtudies ſhall yeeld you a better preſent of the like ſubiect.*

S. D.

NOTE.—Throughout, the spelling and punctuation, etc., of Daniel is adhered to. For the (relatively) few words and names needing explanation, see Glossarial Index, in Vol. V., *s. v.*

A. B. G.

II.

A DEFENCE OF RYME.

1607.

NOTE.

For our exemplar of the 'Defence of Ryme' (distinct from that in the 'Small Workes' of 1607) I am indebted to the British Museum (C. 34. *a.* 2). The title-page is given opposite. See on it and Hazlewood's reprint, our Memorial-Introduction II.—Critical, in the present volume.

A. B. G.

A DEFENCE OF RYME,

Againſt a Pamphlet entituled:

Obſeruations in the Art of Engliſh Poeſie:

Wherein is demonſtratiuely prooued, that *Ryme* is the fitteſt harmonie of words that comports with our language.

By

SAMVEL DANIEL.

LONDON:
Printed by *Melch. Bradwood*,
for *Edward Blount*.
1607. (18mo)

To all the Worthy *Louers, and learned Profeſſors* of Ryme, within his Maieſties Dominions. S. D.

WORTHY Gentlemen, about a yeere ſince, vpon the great reproach giuen to the Profeſſours of Ryme, and the vſe thereof, I wrote a priuate Letter, as a defence of mine owne vndertakings in that kinde, to a learned Gentleman, a great friend of mine, then in Court. Which I did, rather to confirme my ſelfe in mine owne courſes, and to hold him from being wonne from vs, then with any deſire to publiſh the ſame to the world.

But now, ſeeing the times to promiſe a more regard to the preſent condition of our writings, in reſpect of our Souereigns happie inclination this way; whereby we are rather to expect an incouragement to goe on with that we doe, then that any innouation ſhould checke vs, with a ſhew of what | it would doe in another kinde, and yet doe nothing but depraue: I haue now giuen a greater bodie to the ſame argument: and heere preſent it to your

view, vnder the patronage of a noble Erle, who in blood and nature is intereſſed to take our part in this cauſe, with others, who can not, I know, but holde deare the monuments that haue beene left vnto the world in this maner of compoſition: and who I truſt will take in good part this my Defence; if not as it is my particular, yet in reſpect of the cauſe I vndertake, which I heere inuoke you all to protect. SA. D.

To
William Herbert Erle of Pembrooke.

THE generall cuſtome and vſe of Ryme in this Kingdome, Noble Lord, hauing beene ſo long (as if from a grant of Nature) held vnqueſtionable; made mee to imagine that it lay altogether out of the way of contradiction, and was become ſo naturall, as we ſhould never haue had a thought to caſt it off into reproch, or be made to thinke that it ill-became our language. But now I ſee, when there is oppoſition made to all things in the world by words, we muſt now at length likewiſe fall to contend for words themſelues; and make a queſtion, whether they be right or no. For we are told how that our meaſures goe wrong, all Ryming is groſſe, vulgar, barbarous: which if it bee ſo, we haue loſt much labour to no purpoſe; and for mine owne particular, I can not but blame the fortune of the times and mine owne Genius, that caſt me vpon ſo wrong a courſe, drawen with the current of cuſtome, and an vnexamined example. Hauing beene firſt encourag'd and fram'd

thereunto by your moſt worthy and honorable mother, and receiued the / firſt notion for the formall ordering of thoſe compoſitions at *Wilton*, which I muſt euer acknowledge to haue beene my beſt ſchoole, and thereof alwayes am to holde a feeling and gratefull memorie. Afterward, drawen farther on by the well liking and approbation of my worthy Lord, the foſterer of me and my *Muſe*, I aduentured to beſtow all my whole powers therein, perceiuing it agreed ſo wel, both with the complexion of the times and mine owne conſtitution, as I found not wherein I might better imploy mee. But yet now, vpon the great diſcouery of theſe new meaſures, threatning to ouerthrow the whole ſtate of Ryme in this Kingdome, I muſt either ſtand out to defend, or els be forced to forſake my ſelfe, and giue ouer all. And though irreſolution and a ſelfe diſtruſt be the moſt apparent faults of my nature, and that the leaſt checke of reprehenſion, if it ſauour of reaſon, will as eaſily ſhake my reſolution as any mans living: yet in this caſe, I know not how I am growen more reſolued, and before I ſincke, willing to examine what thoſe powers of iudgement are, that muſt beare me downe, and beat me off from the ſtation of my profeſſion, which by the law of Nature I am ſet to defend.

And the rather for that this Detractour (whoſe commendable Rymes, albeit now himſelfe an enemy to Ryme, haue giuen heretofore to the World the beſt notice of his worth) is a man of faire parts and good reputation, and therfore the reproch forcibly caſt from ſuch a hand may throw downe more at once than the labours of many ſhall in long time / build vp againe,

ſpecially vpon the ſlipperie foundation of opinion, and the World's inconſtancy, which knowes not well what it would haue, and

> *Diſcit enim citius, meminitque libentius illud*
> *Quodquis deridet quā quod probat et veneratur.*

And he who is thus become our vnkind aduerſary, muſt pardon vs if we be as iealous of our fame and reputation, as hee is deſirous of credit by his new-old arte, and muſt conſider that we cannot, in a thing that concerns vs ſo neere, but haue a feeling of the wrong done, wherein euery Rymer in this vniuerſall Iland, as well as my ſelfe, ſtands intereſſed. So that if his charity had equally drawen with his learning, he would haue forborne to procure the enuie of ſo powerfull a number vpon him, from whom he can not but expect the returne of a like meaſure of blame, and onely haue made way to his owne grace, by the proofe of his abilitie, without the diſparaging of vs, who would haue beene glad to haue ſtood quietly by him, and perhaps commended his aduenture, ſeeing that euermore of one Science an other may be born, and that thoſe ſalies made out of the quarter of our ſet knowledges, are the gallant proffers only of attemptiue ſpirits, and commendable, though they worke no other effect than make a Brauado: and I know it were *Indecens & moroſum nimis, aliena induſtriæ, modum ponere.* We could well haue allowed of his numbers, had he not diſgraced our Ryme: which both Cuſtome and Nature doth moſt powerfully defend: Cuſtome, that is before all Law: Nature, that is aboue all Art. Euery language hath her proper number or / meaſure fitted to vſe and

delight, which, Cuſtome entertaining by the allowance of the Eare, doth modernize and make Naturall. All verſe is but a frame of wordes confinde within certaine meaſure; differing from the ordinarie ſpeech, and introduced, the better to expreſſe mens conceits, both for delight and memorie. Which frame of words conſiſting of *Rithmus* or *Metrum*, Number or meaſure, are diſpoſed into diuers faſhions, according to the humour of the Compoſer, and the ſet of the time: And theſe *Rhythmi*, as *Ariſtotle* ſayth, are familiar amongſt all Nations, and *è naturali & ſponte fuſa compoſitione*: And they fall as naturally already in our language, as euer Art can make them; being ſuch as the Eare of it ſelfe doth marſhall in their proper roomes, and they of themſelues will not willingly bee put out of their ranke; and that in ſuch a verſe as beſt comports with the nature of our language. And for our Ryme (which is an excellencie added to this worke of meaſure, and a Harmonie farre happier than any proportion Antiquitie could euer ſhew vs) doeth adde more grace, and hath more of delight then euer bare numbers, howſoeuer they can bee forced to runne in our ſlow language, can poſſibly yeeld. Which whether it be deriu'd of *Rhythmus* or of *Romance*, which were ſongs the *Bards* and *Druydes* about Rymes vſed, and thereof were called *Remenſi*, as ſome Italians holde; or howſoeuer, it is likewiſe number and harmonie of wordes, conſiſting of an agreeing ſound in the laſt ſyllables of ſeuerall verſes, giuing both to the eare an eccho of a delightfull report, and to the Memorie a deeper / impreſſion, of what is deliuered therein. For as Greeke and Latine verſe conſiſts of the number and

quantitie of ſyllables, ſo doth the Engliſh verſe of meaſure and accent. And though it doth not ſtrictly obſerue long and ſhort ſyllables, yet it moſt religiouſly reſpects the accent: and as the ſhort and the long make number, ſo the Accute and Graue accent yeeld harmonie: And harmonie is likewiſe number; ſo that the Engliſh verſe then hath number, meaſure and harmonie in the beſt proportion of Muſicke. Which being more certaine and more reſounding, workes that effect of motion with as happy ſucceſſe as either the Greeke or Latine. And ſo naturall a melodie is it, and ſo vniuerſall, as it ſeemes to be generally borne with all the Nations of the world, as an hereditarie eloquence proper to all mankinde. The vniuerſalitie argues the generall power of it: for if the Barbarian vſe it, then it ſhewes that it ſwaies the affection of the Barbarian: if ciuill Nations practiſe it, it proues that it works vpon the hearts of ciuill Nations: if all, then that it hath a power in nature on all. *Georgieuez de Turcarum moribus*, hath an example of the Turkiſh Rymes iuſt of the meaſure of our verſe of eleuen ſyllables, in feminine Ryme: neuer begotten I am perſwaded by any example in *Europe*, but borne no doubt in *Scythia*, and brought over *Caucaſus* and *Mount Taurus*. The Sclauonian and Arabian tongues acquaint a great part of *Aſia* and *Affrique* with it: the Moſcouite, Polacke, Hungarian, Germane, Italian, French, and Spaniard, vſe no other harmonie of words. The Iriſh, Briton, Scot, Dane, Saxon, / Engliſh, and all the Inhabiters of this Iland, either haue hither brought, or heere found the ſame in vſe. And ſuch a force hath it in nature, or ſo made by nature, as the Latin

numbers notwithſtanding their excellency, ſeemed not ſufficient to ſatisfie the eare of the world thereunto accuſtomed, without this Harmonicall cadence : which make the moſt learned of all Nations labour with exceeding trauell to bring thoſe numbers likewiſe vnto it : which many did with that happineſſe, as neither the puritie of tongue, nor their materiall contemplations are thereby any way diſgraced, but rather deſerue to be reuerenced of all gratefull poſteritie, with the due regard of their worth. And for *Schola Salerna*, and thoſe *Carmina Prouerbialia*, Who findes not therein more precepts for vſe, concerning diet, health and conuerſation, than *Cato*, *Theognes*, or all the Greekes and Latines can ſhew vs in that kinde of teaching? and that in ſo few words, both for delight to the eare, and the hold of memory, as they are to be embraced of all modeſt Readers, that ſtudy to know, and not to depraue.

Me thinks it is a ſtrange imperfection, that men ſhould thus ouer-runne the eſtimation of good things with ſo violent a cenſure, as though it muſt pleaſe none els, becauſe it likes not them. Whereas *Oportet arbitratores eſſe non contradictores eos qui verum iudicaturi ſunt*, ſaith *Ariſt.*, though he could not obſerue it himſelfe. And milde Charitie telles vs :

> ——————*non ego paucis*
> *Offendor maculis quas aut incuria fudit,*
> *Aut humana parum cauet natura.*

For all men / haue their errours, and we muſt take the beſt of their powers, and leaue the reſt as not apperteining vnto vs.

. *Ill cuſtomes are to be left.* I grant it: but I ſee not how that can be taken for an ill cuſtome, which Nature hath thus ratified, all nations receiued, time ſo long confirmed, the effects ſuch as it performes thoſe offices of motion for which it is imployed; delighting the eare, ſtirring the heart, and ſatisfying the iudgement in ſuch ſort as I doubt whether euer ſingle numbers will doe in our Climate, if they ſhew no more worke of woonder than yet we ſee. And if euer they prooue to become any thing, it muſt be by the approbation of many ages that muſt giue them their ſtrength for any operation, as before the world will feele where the pulſe, life and enargie lies, which now were ſure where to haue in our Rymes, whoſe knowen frame hath thoſe due ſtayes for the minde, thoſe encounters of touch, as makes the motion certaine, though the varietie be infinite. Nor will the generall ſort, for whom we write (the wiſe being aboue books) taſte theſe laboured meaſures but as an orderly proſe when we haue all done. For this kind acquaintance and continuall familiaritie euer had betweene our eare and this cadence, is growen to ſo intimate a friendſhip, as it will now hardly euer be brought to miſſe it. For be the verſe neuer ſo good, neuer ſo full, it ſeemes not to ſatisfie nor breed that delight, as when it is met and combined with a like ſounding accent: which ſeemes as the iointure without which it hangs looſe, and cannot ſubſiſt, but runnes wildely on, like a tedious fancie / without a cloſe. Suffer then the world to enioy that which it knowes, and what it likes: ſeeing that whatſoeuer forme of words doth mooue, delight and ſway the affections of men, in what Scythian ſort ſoeuer it be

diſpoſed or vttered, that is true number, meaſure, eloquence, and the perfection of ſpeech: which I ſayd, hath as many ſhapes as there be tongues or nations in the world, nor can with all the tyrannicall Rules of idle Rhetorique be gouerned otherwiſe then cuſtome and preſent obſeruation will allow. And being now the trim and faſhion of the times, to ſute a man otherwiſe, can not but giue a touch of ſingularitie: for when he hath all done, hee hath but found other clothes to the ſame bodie, and peraduenture not ſo fitting as the former. But could our Aduerſary heereby ſet vp the Muſicke of our times to a higher note of iudgement and diſcretion, or could theſe new lawes of wordes better our imperfections, it were a happy attempt; but when heereby we ſhall but as it were change perſon, and put off thoſe fetters to receiue others, what haue we gained? as good ſtile to vſe Ryme and as little Reaſon, as neither Ryme nor Reaſon: for no doubt, as idle wits will write in that kinde, as doe now in this: imitation will after, though it breake her necke. *Scribimus indocti doctique poemata paſſim.* And this multitude of idle Writers can be no diſgrace to the good: for the ſame fortune, in one proportion or other, is proper in a like ſeaſon, to all States in their turn. And the ſame vnmeaſurable confluence of Scriblers happened, when meaſures were moſt in vſe among the Romans, as wee finde / by this reprehenſion,

Mutauit mentem populis leuit, & calet vno
Scribendi ſtudio, pueri, patreſque ſeueri,
Fronde comas vincti cœnāt, & carmina dictant.

So that their plentie ſeemes to haue bred the ſame

waſte and contempt as ours doth now, though it had not power to diſvalue what was woorthie of poſteritie, nor keepe backe the reputation of excellencies, deſtined to continue for many ages. For ſeeing it is matter that ſatisfies the iudiciall, appeare it in what habit it will, all theſe pretended proportions of words, howſoeuer placed, can be but words, and peraduenture ſerue but to embroile our vnderſtanding; whileſt ſeeking to pleaſe our eare, we enthrall our iudgement; to delight an exterior ſenſe, we ſmooth vp a weake confuſed ſenſe, affecting ſound to be vnſound, and all to ſecure *Seruum pecus*, onely to imitate the Greekes and Latines, whoſe felicitie, in this kinde, might be ſomething to themſelues, to whom their owne *idioma* was naturall, but to vs it can yeeld no other commoditie, then a ſound. We admire them not for their ſmooth-gliding words, nor their meaſures, but for their inuentions: which treaſure, if it were to be found in Welſh and Iriſh, wee ſhould holde thoſe languages in the ſame eſtimation, and they may thanke their ſword that made their tongues ſo famous and vniuerſall as they are. For to ſay truth, their verſe is many times but a confuſed deliuerer of their excellent conceits, whoſe ſcattred limbs we are fain to looke out and ioyne together, to diſcerne the image of what they repreſent to vs. And euen the Latines, who profeſſe not to be ſo licencious as the / Greeks, ſhew vs many times examples but of ſtrange crueltie, in torturing and diſmembring of words in the middeſt, or disioyning ſuch as naturally ſhould be maried and march together, by ſetting them as farre a ſunder as they can poſſibly ſtand, that ſometimes, vnleſſe the kinde Reader out of his owne good nature,

will ſtay them vp by their meaſure, they will fall downe into flat proſe, and ſometimes are no other indeed in their naturall ſound: And then againe, when you finde them diſobedient to their owne lawes, you muſt hold it to be *licentia poetica*, and ſo diſpenſable. The ſtriuing to ſhew their changeable meaſures in the varietie of their Odes, haue been verie painfull no doubt vnto them, and forced them thus to diſturbe the quiet ſtreame of their words, which by a naturall ſucceſſion otherwiſe deſire to follow in their due courſe.

But ſuch affliction doth labourſome curioſitie ſtill lay vpon our beſt delights (which euer muſt be made ſtrange and variable) as if Art were ordained to afflict Nature, and that we could not goe but in fetters. Euery ſcience, euery profeſſion, muſt be ſo wrapt vp in vnneceſſary intrications, as if it were not to faſhion but to confound the vnderſtanding, which makes me much to diſtruſt man, and feare that our preſumption goes beyond our abilitie, and our curioſitie is more then our iudgement: labouring euer to ſeeme to be more then we are, or laying greater burdens vpon our mindes then they are well able to beare, becauſe we would not appeare like other men.

And indeed I haue wiſhed there was not that / multiplicitie of Rymes as is vſed by many in Sonets, which yet we ſee in ſome ſo happily to ſucceed, and hath beene ſo farre from hindering their inuentions, as it hath begot conceit beyond expectation, and comparable to the beſt inuentions of the world: for ſure in an eminent ſpirit, whom Nature hath fitted for that myſterie, Ryme is no impediment to his conceit, but rather giues him wings to mount, and carries him not

out of his courſe, but as it were beyond his power to a far happier flight. All excellencies being ſolde vs at the hard price of labour, it followes, where we beſtow moſt thereof, we buy the beſt ſucceſſe: and Ryme being farre more laborious than looſe meaſures (whatſoeuer is obiected) muſt needs, meeting with wit and induſtrie, breed greater and worthier effects in our language. So that if our labours haue wrought out a manumiſſion from bondage, and that we goe at libertie, notwithſtanding theſe ties, we are no longer the ſlaues of Ryme, but we make it a moſt excellent inſtrument to ſerue vs. Nor is this certaine limit obſerued in Sonnets, any tyrannicall bounding of the conceit, but rather a reducing it in *girum*, and a iuſt forme, neither too long for the ſhorteſt proiect, nor too ſhort for the longeſt, being but onely imployed for a preſent paſſion. For the bodie of our imagination, being as an vnformed *Chaos* without faſhion, without day, if by the diuine power of the Spirit it be wrought into an Orbe of order and forme, is it not more pleaſing to Nature, that deſires a certainty, and comports not with that which is infinite, to haue theſe clozes, rather then not to know where to end, or / how farre to goe, eſpecially ſeeing our paſſions are often without meaſure? And we finde the beſt of the Latines many times, either not concluding, or els otherwiſe in the end then they began. Beſides, is it not moſt delightfull to ſee much excellentlie ordered in a ſmall roome, or little gallantly diſpoſed and made to fill vp a ſpace of like capacitie, in ſuch ſort, that the one would not appeare ſo beautifull in a larger circuit, nor the other doe well in a leſſe: which often we finde to be ſo, according to

the powers of nature, in the workman. And theſe limited proportions, and reſts of ſtanzes, conſiſting of ſix, ſeuen, or eight lines, are of that happineſſe, both for the diſpoſition of the matter, the apt planting the ſentence where it may beſt ſtand to hit the certein cloſe of delight, with the full bodie of a iuſt period well carried, is ſuch, as neither the Greeks or Latines euer attained vnto: for their boundleſſe running on often ſo confounds the Reader, that hauing once loſt himſelfe, muſt either giue off vnſatisfied, or vncertainly caſt backe to retriue the eſcaped ſenſe, and to finde way againe into this matter.

Me thinks we ſhould not ſo ſoone yeeld our conſents captiue to the authoritie of Antiquitie, vnleſſe we ſaw more reaſon: all our vnderſtandings are not to be built by the ſquare of *Greece* and *Italie*. We are the children of nature as well as they, we are not ſo placed out of the way of iudgement, but that the ſame Sunne of Diſcretion ſhineth vpon vs; we haue our portion of the ſame vertues as well as of the ſame vices, *Et Catilinam Quocunque in populo videas quocunque ſub axe.* Time and the turne / of things bring about theſe faculties according to the preſent eſtimation: and *Res temporibus non tempora rebus ſeruire oportet.* So that we muſt neuer rebell againſt vſe: *Quem penes arbitrium eſt, & vis & norma loquendi.* It is not the obſeruing of *Trochaicques* nor their *Iambicques*, that will make our writings ought the wiſer: All their Poeſie, all their Philoſophie is nothing, vnleſſe wee bring the diſcerning light of conceit with vs to applie it to vſe. It is not books but only that great booke of the world, and the all-ouerſpreading grace of heauen that makes

men truely iudiciall. Nor can it but touch of arrogant ignorance, to holde this or that Nation Barbarous, theſe or thoſe times groſſe, conſidering how this manifolde creature man, whereſoeuer hee ſtand in the World, hath alwayes ſome diſpoſition of woorth, entertaines the order of ſocietie, affects that which is moſt in vſe, and is eminent in ſome one thing or other, that fits his humour and the times. The Grecians held all other nations barbarous but themſelues, yet *Pyrrhus* when he ſaw the well ordered marching of the Romans, which made them ſee their preſumptuous errour, could ſay it was no barbarous maner of proceeding. The *Gothes*, *Vandales*, and *Longobards*, whoſe comming downe like an inundation, ouerwhelmed, as they ſay, all the glorie of learning in *Europe*, haue yet left vs ſtil their Lawes and Cuſtomes, as the originals of moſt of the prouinciall Conſtitutions of Chriſtendome, which being well conſidered with their other courſes of gouernment, may ſerue to cleere them from this imputation of ignorance. And though the / vanquiſhed neuer ſpeake well of the Conquerour, yet even thorow the vnſound couerings of maledictions appeare thoſe monuments of truth, as argue well their worth, and prooues them not without iudgement, though without Greeke and Latine.

Will not experience confute vs, if we ſhould ſay the State of *China*, which neuer heard of Anapæſtiques, Trochies, and Tribracques, were groſſe, barbarous, and vnciuill? And is it not a moſt apparent ignorance, both of the ſucceſſion of learning in *Europe*, and the generall courſe of things, to ſay, *that all lay pitifully deformed in thoſe lacke-learning times from the declining of the Romane Empire till the light of the Latine tongue*

was reuiued by Rewcline, Eraſmus, and Moore? when for three hundred yeeres before them, about the comming downe of *Tamerlaine* into *Europe*, *Franciſcus Petrarcha* (who then no doubt likewiſe found whom to imitate) ſhewed all the beſt notions of learning, in that degree of excellencie, both in Latine, Proſe and Verſe, and in the vulgar Italian, as all the wits of poſteritie haue not yet much ouer-matched him in all kindes to this day: his great Volumes written in Morall Philoſophie, ſhew his infinite reading, and moſt happy power of diſpoſition: his twelue Æglogues, his *Africa* containing nine bookes of the laſt Punicke war, with his three bookes of Epiſtles in Latine verſe, ſhew all the tranſformations of wit and inuention, that a ſpirit naturally borne to the inheritance of Poetrie and iudiciall knowledge could expreſſe: all which notwithſtanding wrought him not that glory and fame with his owne Nation, as did his / Poems in Italian, which they eſteeme aboue all whatſoeuer wit could haue inuented in any other forme than wherein it is: which queſtionleſſe they wil not change with the beſt meaſures Greekes or Latines can ſhew them, howſoeuer our Aduerſary imagines.

Nor could this very ſame innouation in verſe, begun amongſt them by *C. Tolomæi*, but die in the attempt, and was buried aſſoone as it came borne, neglected as a prodigious and vnnaturall iſſue amongſt them: nor could it neuer induce *Taſſo*, the woonder of Italie, to write that admirable Poem of *Ieruſalem*, comparable to the beſt of the Ancients, in any other forme then the accuſtomed verſe.

And with *Petrarch* liued his ſcholar *Boccacius*, and neere about the ſame time *Iohannis Rauenenſis*, and

from theſe, *tanquam exequo Troiano*, ſeemes to haue iſſued all thoſe famous Italian Writers, *Leonardus*, *Aretinus*, *Laurentius Valla*, *Poggius*, *Blondus*, and many others. Then *Emmanuel Chryſolaras*, a Conſtantinopolitan gentleman, renowned for his learning and vertue, being imployed by *Iohn Paleologus* Emperour of the Eaſt, to implore the aide of Chriſtian Princes, for the ſuccouring of periſhing *Greece*: and vnderſtanding in the meane time, how *Baiazeth* was taken priſoner by *Tamerlane*, and his countrey freed from danger, ſtayed ſtill at *Venice*, and there taught the Greeke tongue, diſcontinued before in theſe parts the ſpace of ſeuen hundred yeeres.

Him followed *Beſſarion*, *George Trapezantius*, *Theodorus Gaza*, and others, tranſporting Philoſophy beaten by the Turke out of *Greece* into / Chriſtendome. Heereupon came that mightie confluence of Learning in theſe parts, which returning as it were *per poſtliminium*, and here meeting them with the new inuented ſtampe of Printing, ſpread it ſelfe indeed in a more vniuerſall ſort then the world euer heretofore had it.

When *Pomponius Lætus*, *Æneas Syluius*, *Angelus Politianus*, *Hermolaus Barbarus*, *Iohannes Picus de mirandula*, the miracle and Phœnix of the world, adorned *Italie*, and wakened other Nations likewiſe with this deſire of glory, long before it brought forth *Rewclen*, *Eraſmus*, and *Moore*, worthy men, I confeſſe, and the laſt a great ornament to this land, and a Rymer.

And yet long before all theſe, and likewiſe with theſe, was not our Nation behinde in her portion of ſpirit and worthineſſe, but concurrent with the beſt of all this lettered world: witneſſe venerable *Bede*, that

flouriſhed about a thouſand yeeres ſince: *Aldelmus Durotelmus*, that liued in the yeere 739, of whom we finde this commendation regiſtred: *omnium Poetarum ſui temporis facilè primus, tantæ eloquentiæ, maieſtatis & eruditionis homo fuit, vt nunquam ſatis admirari poſſim vnde illi in tam barbara ac rudi ætate facundia accreuerit, vſque adeo omnibus numeris terſa, elegans & rotunda, verſus edidit cum antiquitate de palma contendentes.* Witneſſe *Ioſephus Deuonius*, who wrote *de bello Troiano* in ſo excellent maner, and ſo neere reſembling Antiquitie, as printing his worke beyond the ſeas, they haue aſcribed it to *Cornelius Nepos*, one of the Ancients.

What ſhould I name *Walterus Mape*, *Gulielmus Nigellus*, *Geruaſius Tilburienſis*, *Bracton*, *Bacon*, *Ockham*, and an infinite Catalogue of excellent men, moſt of them liuing about foure hundred yeeres ſince, and haue left behinde them monuments of moſt profound iudgement and learning in all Sciences. So that it is but the clouds gathered about our own iudgement that makes vs think all other ages wrapt vp in miſts, and the great diſtance betwixt vs, that cauſes vs to imagine men ſo farre off to be ſo little in reſpect of our ſelues.

Wee muſt not looke vpon the immenſe courſe of times paſt, as men ouerlooke ſpacious and wide countreys, from off high mountaines, and are neuer the neere to iudge of the true nature of the ſoile, or the particular ſight and face of thoſe territories they ſee. Nor muſt we thinke, viewing the ſuperficiall figure of a region in a Map, that we know ſtraight the faſhion and place as it is; or reading an Hiſtorie (which is

but a Map of men) and doth no otherwiſe acquaint vs with the true ſubſtance of circumſtances, then a ſuperficiall Card doth the Sea-man with a Coaſt neuer ſeene (which alwayes proues other to the eye then the imagination forecaſts it) that preſently we know all the world, and can diſtinctly iudge of times, men and maners, iuſt as they were.

When the beſt meaſure of man is to be taken by his owne foot, bearing euer the neereſt proportion to himſelfe, and is neuer ſo farre different and vnequall in his powers, that hee hath all in perfection at one time, and nothing at another.

The diſtribution of gifts are vniuerſall, and all ſeaſons haue them in ſome ſort. Wee muſt not thinke, but that there were *Scipios*, *Cæſars*, *Catos*, / and *Pompeys*, borne elſwhere than at *Rome*: the reſt of the world hath euer had them in the ſame degree of Nature, though not of State. And it is our weakneſſe that makes vs miſtake or miſconceiue in theſe deliniations of men the true figure of their woorth. And our paſſion and beleefe is ſo apt to leade vs beyond trueth, that vnleſſe we trie them by the iuſt compaſſe of humanitie, and as they were men, we ſhal caſt their figures in the aire, when we ſhould make their models vpon earth. It is not the contexture of words, but the effects of action that giues glorie to the times: wee finde they had *Mercurium in pectore*, though not in *lingua*; and in all ages, though they were not Ciceronians, they knew the Arte of men, which onely is *Ars Artium*, the great gift of heauen, and the chiefe grace and glory on earth; they had the learning of gouernment, and ordering their State; eloquence enough

to ſhew their iudgements ; and it ſeemeth the beſt times followed *Lycurgus* counſell : *Literas ad vſum ſaltem diſcebant, reliqua omnis diſciplina erat, vt pulchre pararent vt labores preferrent, &c.* Had not vnlearned *Rome* layd the better foundation, and built the ſtronger frame of an admirable State, eloquent *Rome* had confounded it vtterly, which wee ſaw ranne the way of all confuſion, the plaine courſe of diſſolution in her greateſt ſkill : and though ſhe had not power to vndo herſelfe, yet wrought ſhe ſo, that ſhe caſt herſelfe quite away from the glory of a Common-wealth, and fell vpon the forme of State ſhee euer moſt feared and abhorred of all other : and then ſcarſe was there ſeene any ſhadow of policie vnder / her firſt Emperours, but the moſt horrible and groſſe confuſion that could be conceiued ; notwithſtanding it ſtill endured, preſeruing not onely a Monarchie, locked vp in her owne limits, but therewithall held vnder her obedience ſo many Nations, ſo farre diſtant, ſo ill affected, ſo diſorderly commanded, and vniuſtly conquered, as it is not to be attributed to any other fate but to the firſt frame of that Commonwealth ; which was ſo ſtrongly ioynted, and with ſuch infinite combinations interlinct as one naile or other euer held vp the maieſty thereof.

There is but one learning, which *omnes gentes habent ſcriptum in cordibus ſuis*, one and the ſelfe-ſame ſpirit that worketh in all. We have but one bodie of Iuſtice, one bodie of Wiſdome thorowout the whole world ; which is but apparelled according to the faſhion of euery Nation.

Eloquence and gay wordes are not of the ſubſtance of wit : it is but the garniſh of a nice time, the

ornaments that doe but decke the houſe of a State, and *imitatur publicos mores*: Hunger is as well ſatisfied with meat ſerued on pewter as ſiluer. Diſcretion is the beſt meaſure, the righteſt foot, in what paſe ſoeuer it run. *Eraſmus*, *Rewcline*, and *Moore*, brought no more wiſdome into the world with all their new reuiued words then we finde was before; it bred not a profounder Diuine then *S. Thomas*, a greater Lawyer then *Bartolus*, a more accute Logician then *Scotus*: nor are the effects of all this great amaſſe of eloquence, ſo admirable or of that conſequence, but that *impexa illa antiquitas* can yet compare with it.

Let / vs goe no further, but looke vpon the woonderfull Architecture of the State of *England*, and ſee whether they were deformed times that could giue it ſuch a forme: where there is no one the leaſt pillar of maieſtie, but was ſet with moſt profound iudgement, and borne vp with the iuſt conueniencie of Prince and people; no Court of iuſtice, but layd by the rule and ſquare of Nature, and the beſt of the beſt Commonwealths that euer were in the world: ſo ſtrong and ſubſtantiall, as it hath ſtood againſt all the ſtormes of factions, both of beleefe and ambition, which ſo powerfully beat vpon it, and all the tempeſtuous alterations of humorous times whatſoeuer: being continually in all ages furniſht with ſpirits fit to maintaine the maieſtie of her owne greatneſſe, and to match in an equall concurrencie all other kingdomes round about her, with whom it had to encounter.

But this innouation, like a Viper, muſt euer make way into the worlds opinion, thorow the bowels of her owne breeding, and is alwayes borne with reproach in

her mouth; the diſgracing others is the beſt grace it can put on, to win reputation of wit; and yet it is neuer ſo wiſe as it would ſeeme, nor doeth the world euer get ſo much by it as it imagineth; which being ſo often deceiued, and ſeeing it neuer performes ſo much as it promiſes, wee think men ſhould neuer giue more credit vnto it: for, let vs change neuer ſo often, we can not change man; our imperfections muſt ſtill run on with vs: and therefore the wiſer Nations haue taught men alwayes to vſe, *Moribus legibuſque preſentibus etiamſi deteriores ſint.* The / Lacedæmonians, when a Muſician thinking to win himſelfe credit by his new inuention, and be before his fellowes, had added one ſtring more to his Crowd, brake his fiddle, and baniſhed him the Citie, holding the Innouator, though in the leaſt things, dangerous to a publicke ſocietie. It is but a fantaſticke giddineſſe to forſake the way of other men, eſpecially where it lies tolerable: *Vbi nunc eſt Reſpublica, ibi ſimus potius quam dum illum veterem ſequimur, ſimus in nulla.*

But ſhall wee not tend to perfection? Yes; and that euer beſt by going on in the courſe we are in, where we haue aduantage, being ſo farre onward, of him that is but now ſetting foorth. For wee ſhall neuer proceed, if we be euer beginning, nor arriue at any certaine port, ſailing with all windes that blow: *Non conualeſcit planta quæ ſæpius tranſfertur*, and therefore let vs holde on in the courſe we haue vndertaken, and not ſtill be wandring. Perfection is not the portion of man; and if it were, why may wee not as well get to it this way as another, and ſuſpect thoſe great vndertakers, leſt they have conſpired with enuie to betray

our proceedings, and put vs by the honour of our attempts, with caſting vs backe vpon another courſe, of purpoſe to ouerthrow the whole action of glory when we lay the faireſt for it, and were ſo neere our hopes? I thanke God that I am none of theſe great Scholars, if thus their high knowledges doe but giue them more eyes to looke out into vncertaintie and confuſion, accounting my ſelfe rather beholding to mine ignorance, that hath ſet mee in ſo lowe an vnderroome of conceit with other men, / and hath giuen me as much diſtruſt, as it hath done hope, daring not aduenture to goe alone, but plodding on the plaine tract I finde beaten by Cuſtome and the Time, contenting me with what I ſee in vſe.

And ſurely me thinks theſe great wits ſhould rather ſeeke to adorne, than to diſgrace the preſent, bring ſomething to it, without taking from it what it hath. But it is euer the misfortune of Learning to be wounded by her owne hand. *Stimulos dat emula virtus*, and when there is not abilitie to match what is, malice will finde out engins, either to diſgrace or ruine it, with a peruerſe encounter of ſome new impreſſion; and, which is the greateſt miſerie, it muſt euer proceed from the powers of the beſt reputation, as if the greateſt ſpirits were ordained to indanger the world, as the groſſe are to diſhonor it; and that we were to expect *ab optimis periculum, à peſſimis dedecus publicum.* Emulation, the ſtrongeſt pulſe that beats in high mindes is oftentimes a winde, but of the worſt effect: for whileſt the ſoule comes diſappointed of the obiect it wrought on; it preſently forges another, and euen couzins it ſelfe, and croſſes all the world, rather then it will ſtay to be vnder

her deſires, falling out with all it hath, to flatter and make faire that which it would haue.

So that it is the ill ſucceſſe of our longings that with *Xerxes* makes vs to whip the sea, and ſend a cartell of defiance to mount *Athos*: and the fault layed vpon others weakneſſe, is but a preſumptuous opinion of our owne ſtrength, who muſt not ſeeme to be maſtered. But had our Aduerſarie taught vs by his owne procee / dings, this way of perfection, and therein fram'd vs a Poeme of that excellencie, as ſhould haue put downe all, and been the maſter-peece of theſe times, wee ſhould all haue admired him: but to depraue the preſent forme of writing, and to bring vs nothing but a few looſe and vncharitable Epigrammes, and yet would make vs beleeue thoſe numbers were come to raiſe the glorie of our language, giueth vs cauſe to ſuſpect the performance, and to examine whether this new Art *conſtat ſibi*, or, *aliquid ſit dictum quod non ſit dictum priùs*.

Firſt we muſt heere imitate the Greeks and Latines, and yet we are heere ſhewed to diſobey them even in their owne numbers and quantities; taught to produce what they make ſhort, and make ſhort what they produce; made beleeue to be ſhewed meaſures in that forme we haue not ſeene, and in ſuch matter; tolde that heere is the perfect Arte of verſifying, which in concluſion is yet confeſſed to be vnperfect, as if our aduerſarie to be oppoſite to vs, were become vnfaithfull to him ſelfe, and ſeeking to leade vs out of the way of reputation, hath aduentured to intricate and confound him in his owne courſes; running vpon moſt vneuen grounds, with imperfect rules, weake proofs, and vn-

lawful lawes ; whereunto the world, I am perſwaded, is not ſo vnreaſonable as to ſubſcribe, conſidering the vniuſt authoritie of the Law-giuer : for who hath conſtituted him to be the *Radamanthus*, thus to torture ſyllables, and adiudge them their perpetuall doome, ſetting his *Theta* or marke of condemnation vpon them, to endure / the appointed ſentence of his crueltie, as he ſhall diſpoſe ? as though there were that diſobedience in our words, as they would not be ruled, or ſtand in order, without ſo many intricate lawes ; which would argue a great peruerſeneſſe amongſt them, according to that, *in peſſima republica plurimæ leges*, or, that they were ſo farre gone from the quiet freedome of Nature, that they muſt thus be broght backe againe by force. And now in what caſe were this poore ſtate of words, if in like ſort another tyrant the next yeere ſhould ariſe and abrogate theſe lawes, and ordaine others cleane contrary, according to his humor, and ſay that they were only right, the others vniuſt ? What diſturbance were there heere ? to whom ſhould we obey ? Were it not far better to holde vs faſt to our olde cuſtome, then to ſtand thus diſtracted with vncertaine lawes, wherein right ſhall haue as many faces as it pleaſes Paſſion to make it ; that whereſoeuer mens affections ſtand, it ſhall ſtill looke that way ? What trifles doth our vnconſtant curioſitie call vp to contend for ? What colours are there layd vpon indifferent things to make them ſeeme other than they are ? as if it were but onely to entertaine conteſtation amongſt men, who ſtanding according to the proſpectiue of their owne humour, ſeeme to ſee the ſelfe ſame things to appeare otherwiſe to them than either they do to others, or are indeed in

them ſelues, being but all one in nature. For what adoe haue we heere? what ſtrange precepts of Arte about the framing of an Iambique verſe in our language? which when all is done, reaches not by a foot, but falleth out to / be the plaine ancient verſe, conſiſting of ten ſyllables or fiue feet, which hath euer beene vſed amongſt vs time out of minde. And for all this cunning and counterfet name can or will be any other in nature then it hath beene euer heretofore: and this new *Demeter* is but the halfe of this verſe diuided in two, and no other than the *Cæſura* or breathing place in the middeſt thereof, and therefore it had been as good to haue put two lines in one, but only to make them ſeeme diuers. Nay it had been much better for the true Engliſh reading and pronouncing thereof, without violating the accent, which now our aduerſarie hath heerin moſt vnkindly done: for, being, as wee are to ſound it, according to our Engliſh march, we muſt make a reſt, and raiſe the laſt ſyllable, which falles out very vnnaturall in *Deſolate*, *Funerall*, *Elizabeth*, *Prodigall*, and in all the reſt ſauing the Monoſyllable. Then followes the Engliſh *Trochaicke*, which is ſayd to be a ſimple verſe, and ſo indeed it is, being without Ryme; hauing heere no other grace then that in ſound it runnes like the knowen meaſure of our former ancient Verſe, ending (as we terme it according to the French) in a feminine foot, ſauing that it is ſhorter by one ſyllable at the beginning, which is not much miſſed, by reaſon it falles full at the laſt.

Next comes the *Elegiacke*, being the fourth kinde, and that likewiſe is no other then our accuſtomed meaſure of fiue feet: if there be any difference, it muſt

be made in the reading, and therin we muſt ſtand bound to ſtay where often wee would not, and ſometimes either breake the accent, or the due courſe of the word. / And now for the other foure kindes of numbers, which are to be imploied for *Odes*, they are either of the ſame meaſure, or ſuch as haue euer beene familiarly vſed amongſt vs. So that of all theſe eight ſeuerall kinds of new promiſed numbers, you ſee what wee haue. Only what was our owne before, and the ſame but apparelled in forreigne Titles; which had they come in their kinde and naturall attire of Ryme, wee ſhould neuer haue ſuſpected that they had affected to be other, or ſought to degenerate into ſtrange maners, which now wee ſee was the cauſe why they were turned out of their proper habit, and brought in as Aliens, only to induce men to admire them as farre-commers. But ſee the power of nature; it is not all the artificiall couerings of wit that can hide their natiue and originall condition, which breaks out thorow the ſtrongeſt bands of affectation, and will be it ſelfe, do Singularity what it can. And as for thoſe imagined quantities of ſyllables, which haue beene euer held free and indifferent in our language, who can inforce vs to take knowledge of them, being *in nullius verba iurati*, and owing fealtie to no forreigne inuention? eſpecially in ſuch a caſe where there is no neceſſitie in nature, or that it imports either the matter or forme, whether it be ſo, or otherwiſe. But euery Verſifier that well obſerues his worke, findes in our language, without all theſe vnneceſſary precepts, what numbers beſt fit the nature of her Idiom, and the proper places deſtined to ſuch accents as ſhe will not let in to any other roomes then in thoſe for which they

were borne. As for example, you can not make this fall into the / right ſound of a verſe—

None thinks reward rendred worthy his worth,

vnleſſe you thus miſplace the accent vpon *Rèndred* and *Worthy*, contrary to the nature of theſe wordes: which ſheweth that two feminine numbers (or Trochees, if ſo you will call them) will not ſucceed in the third and fourth place of the verſe. And ſo likewiſe in this case,

Though death doth conſume, yet vertue preſerues,

it will not be a verſe, though it hath the iuſt ſyllables, without the ſame number in the ſecond, and the altering of the fourth place in this ſort:

Though death doth ruine, vertue yet preſerues.

Againe, who knowes not that we can not kindly anſwer a feminine number with a maſculine Ryme, or (if you will ſo terme it) a *Trochei* with a *Sponde*, as *Weakneſſe* with *Confeſſe*, *Nature* and *Indure*, only for that thereby wee ſhall wrong the accent, the chiefe Lord and graue Gouernour of Numbers. Alſo you can not in a verſe of foure feet place a *Trochei* in the firſt, without the like offence, as, *Yeerely out of his watry Cell*: for ſo you ſhall ſound it Yeereliè, which is vnnaturall. And other ſuch like obſeruations vſually occurre, which Nature and a iudiciall eare of themſelues teach vs readily to auoid.

But now for whom hath our Aduerſary taken all this paines? For the learned, or for the ignorant, or for himſelfe, to ſhew his owne ſkill? If for the learned, it was to no purpoſe, for euery Grammarian in this

land hath learned his *Proſodia*, and already knowes all this Art of numbers: if for the ignorant, it was vain: for if they become Verſifiers, wee are like to haue / leane numbers, inſtead of fat Ryme: and if *Tullie* would haue his Oratour ſkill'd in all the knowledges appertaining to God and man, what ſhould they haue, who would be a degree aboue Oratours? Why then it was to ſhew his owne ſkill, and what himſelfe had obſerued: ſo he might well haue done, without doing wrong to the honor of the dead, wrong to the fame of the liuing, and wrong to *England*, in ſeeking to lay reproch vpon her natiue ornaments, and to turne the faire ſtreame and full courſe of her accents into the ſhallow current of a looſe vncerteintie, cleane out of the way of her knowen delight. And I had thoght it could neuer have proceeded from the pen of a Scholar (who ſees no profeſſion free from the impure mouth of the ſcorner) to ſay the reproch of others idle tongues is the curſe of Nature vpon vs, when it is rather her curſe vpon him, that knowes not how to vſe his toong. What, doth he thinke himſelfe is now gotten ſo farre out of the way of contempt, that his numbers are gone beyond the reach of obloquie, and that how friuolous or idle ſoeuer they ſhall runne, they ſhall be protected from diſgrace? as though that light Rymes and light numbers did not weigh all alike in the graue opinion of the wiſe; and that it is not Ryme, but our idle Arguments that hath brought downe to ſo baſe a reckoning the price and eſtimation of writing in this kind; when the few good things of this age, by comming together in one throng and preſſe with the many bad, are not diſcerned from them but ouer-

looked with them, and all taken to be alike. But when after-times ſhall make a queſt of Inquirie, / to examine the beſt of this Age, peraduenture there will be found in the now contemned Records of Ryme, matter not vnfitting the graueſt Diuine and ſeuereſt Lawyer in this Kingdome. But theſe things muſt haue the date of Antiquitie to make them reuerend and authenticall: for euer in the collation of Writers, men rather weigh their age then their merit, *& legunt priſcos cum reuerentia, quando coætaneos non poſſunt ſine inuidia. Simpliciùs longè poſita miramur.* And let no Writer in Ryme be any way diſcouraged in his endeuour by this braue all-arme, but rather animated to bring vp all the beſt of their powers, and charge with the words all the ſtrength of Nature and Induſtrie vpon contempt, that the ſhew of their reall forces may turne backe inſolencie into her owne holde. For, be ſure, that inouation neuer works any ouerthrow but vpon the aduantage of a careleſſe idleneſſe. And let this make vs looke the better to our feet, the better to our matter, better to our maners. Let the Aduerſarie that thought to hurt vs, bring more profit and honor, by being againſt vs, than if he had ſtood ſtill on our ſide. For that (next to the aire of heauen) the beſt reine, the ſtrongeſt hand to make men keepe their way, is that which their enemy beares vpon them: and let this be the benefit we make by being oppugned, and the meanes to redeeme backe the good opinion vanitie and idleneſſe haue ſuffered to be won from vs; which, nothing but ſubſtance and matter can effect. For *Scribendi rectè ſapere eſt & principium & fons.*

When we heare Muſicke, we muſt be in our eare,

in the vtter-roome of ſenſe, but when we entertaine iudgement, we retire into the cabinet / and innermoſt withdrawing chamber of the ſoule: And it is but as Muſick for the eare,

Verba ſequi fidibus modulanda Latinis,

but it is a worke of power for the ſoule,

Numeróſque modóſque ediſcere vitæ.

The moſt iudiciall and worthy ſpirits of this land are not ſo delicate, or will owe ſo much to their eare, as to reſt vpon the outſide of words, and be entertained with ſound; ſeeing that both Number, Meaſure, and Ryme, is but as the ground or ſeat, whereupon is raiſed the worke that commends it, and which may be eaſilie at the firſt found out by any ſhallow conceit: as we ſee ſome fantaſticke to begin a faſhion, which afterward grauitie it ſelfe is faine to put on, becauſe it will not be out of the weare of other men, and *Recti apud nos locum tenet error vbi publicus factus eſt.* And power and ſtrength that can plant it ſelfe any where, hauing built within this compaſſe, and rear'd it of ſo high a reſpect, wee now embrace it as the fitteſt dwelling for our inuention, and haue thereon beſtowed all the ſubſtance of our vnderſtanding to furniſh it as it is. And therefore heere I ſtand foorth, only to make good the place wee haue thus taken vp, and to defend the ſacred monuments erected therein, which containe the honour of the dead, the fame of the liuing, the glory of peace, and the beſt power of our ſpeech, and wherein ſo many honourable ſpirits haue ſacrificed to Memorie their deareſt paſſions, ſhewing by what diuine

influence they haue beene mooued, and vnder what ſtarres they liued.

But yet now notwithſtanding all this which I haue heere deliuered in the defence of Ryme, I / am not ſo farre in loue with mine owne myſtery, or will ſeeme ſo froward, as to be againſt the reformation and the better ſettling theſe meaſures of ours: wherein there bee manie things I could wiſh were more certaine and better ordered, though my ſelfe dare not take vpon mee to be a Teacher therein, hauing ſo much need to learne of others. And I muſt confeſſe, that to mine owne eare, thoſe continuall cadences of couplets vſed in long and continued Poems, are verie tireſome and vnpleaſing, by reaſon that ſtil me thinks they run on, with a ſound of one nature, and a kinde of certainty which ſtuffes the delight rather than entertaines it. But yet notwithſtanding, I muſt not of mine owne daintineſſe condemne this kinde of writing, which peraduenture to another may ſeeme moſt delightfull: and many worthy compoſitions we ſee to haue paſſed with commendation in that kind. Beſides, me thinks ſometimes to beguile the eare with a running out and paſſing ouer the Ryme, as no bound to ſtay vs in the line where the violence of the matter will breake thorow, is rather gracefull then otherwiſe: wherein I finde my *Homer-Lucan*, as if hee gloried to ſeeme to haue no bounds, albeit he were confined within his meaſures, to be in my conceit moſt happie: For ſo thereby, they who care not for Verſe or Ryme may paſſe it ouer with taking notice thereof, and pleaſe themſelues with a well-meaſured Proſe. And I muſt confeſſe my Aduerſary hath wrought this much vpon mee, that I thinke

a Tragedie would indeed beſt comport with a blancke Verſe, and diſpenſe with Ryme, ſauing in the *Chorus*, or where a ſentence / ſhall require a couplet. And to auoid this ouer-glutting the eare with that alwayes certeine and full incounter of Ryme, I haue aſſayd in ſome of my Epiſtles to alter the vſuall place of meeting, and to ſet it further off by one Verſe, to trie how I could diſuſe mine owne eare, and to eaſe it of this continuall burden, which indeed ſeemes to ſurcharge it a little too much: but as yet I can not come to pleaſe my ſelfe therein, this alternate or croſſe Ryme holding ſtill the beſt place in my affection.

Beſides, to me this change of number in a Poem of one nature fits not ſo well, as to mixe vncertainly feminine Rymes with maſculine; which euer ſince I was warned of that deformitie by my kinde friend and countrey-man *M. Hugh Samford*, I haue alwayes ſo auoided it, as there are not aboue two couplets in that kinde in all my Poem of the Ciuil warres: and I would willingly, if I could, haue altered it in all the reſt, holding feminine Rymes to be fitteſt for Ditties, and either to be ſet for certaine, or els by themſelues. But in theſe things, I ſay I dare not take vpon mee to teach that they ought to be ſo, in reſpect my ſelfe holds them to be ſo, or that I thinke it right; for indeed there is no right in theſe things that are continuallie in a wandring motion, caried with the violence of our vncertaine likings, being but onely the time that giues them their power. For if this right or trueth ſhould be no other thing then that we make it, wee ſhall ſhape it into a thouſand figures, ſeeing this excellent Painter, Man, can ſo well lay the colours which

himſelfe grindes in his owne affections, as / that hee will make them ſerue for any ſhadow and any counterfet. But the greateſt hinderer to our proceedings, and the reformation of our errours, is this ſelf-loue, whereunto we Verſifiers are euer noted to be eſpecially ſubiect; a diſease of all other the moſt dangerous and incurable, being once ſeated in the ſpirits, for which there is no cure but only by a ſpirituall remedie. *Multos puto, ad ſapientiam potuiſſe peruenire, niſi putaſſent ſe peruenisse:* and this opinion of our ſufficiencie makes ſo great a cracke in our iudgement, as it will hardly euer hold any thing of woorth, *Cæcus amor ſui*; and though it would ſeeme to ſee all without it, yet certainly it diſcernes but little within: for there is not the ſimpleſt Writer that will euer tell himſelfe he doth ill, but as if hee were the Paraſite onely to ſooth his owne doings, perſwades him that his lines can not but pleaſe others, which ſo much delight himſelfe:

> Suffenus eſt quiſq ſibi—neq idem vnquam.
> Aeque eſt beatus, ac poema cùm ſcribit,
> Tam gaudet in ſe tamque ſe ipſe miratur.

And the more to ſhew that he is ſo, wee ſhall ſee him euermore in all places, and to all perſons repeating his owne compoſitions: and

Quem vero arripuit, tenet occiditq legendo.

Next to this deformitie ſtands our affectation, wherein we alwayes bewray our ſelues to be both vnkinde and vnnaturall to our owne natiue language, in disguiſing or forging ſtrange or vnuſuall words, as if it

were to make our Verſe ſeeme another kinde of ſpeech out of the courſe of our vſuall practiſe, openly vpon a ſingularitie; when owne accuſtomed phraſe, ſet in the due place, would expreſſe vs more familiarly and to better delight then all this idle affectation of antiquitie or noueltie can euer do. And I can not but wonder at the ſtrange preſumption of ſome men, that dare ſo audaciouſly aduenture to introduce any whatſoeuer forren words, be they neuer ſo ſtrange; and of themſelues, as it were, without a Parliament, without any conſent or allowance, ſtabliſh them as free denizens in our language. But this is but a character of that perpetuall reuolution which wee ſee in all things that neuer remaine the ſame: and we muſt heerein be content to ſubmit our ſelues to the law of time, which in few yeeres will make all that for which wee now contend, *Nothing*.

* *
*

FINIS.

III.

THE

COLLECTION

OF THE

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

1612—1617-18.

NOTE.

The 'Collection of the History of England' is Daniel's chief work in Prose, and that which won for him name and fame.

As appears to have been his custom alike in verse and prose, part 1st of this work, "to the end of the reign of Stephen," was originally printed for private circulation: "London, Printed by Nicholas Okes dwelling neere Holborne bridge 1612" (117 leaves); and, indeed, even after publication, and when the work was completed so far as it went, these words are oddly enough retained in the "Certaine Advertisements to the Reader":—

"This Peece of History, which heere I divulge not but impart priuately to such Worthy Persons as haue fauoured my indeuour. . . . ."

There was another (published) edition in 1613: "London, Printed for the Company of Stationers" (also in a small quarto).

These were dedicated in a lengthy Epistle "to the Right Honourable Sir Robert Carr, Viscount Rochester," who is also thus addressed in the opening of the History itself:—

"I intend by the helpe of God, and your furtherance my noble Lord Viscount Rochester to write . . . ." As this Epistle was displaced by another addressed to Queen Anne, wife of James I[st], I have deemed it expedient to give it before the other.

The History as it remained subsequently, "to the end of the reign of Eduard III[d]," was published as a handsome thin folio in 1617-18—dedicated (*ut supra*) to the Queen. This was followed by posthumous folio reprints in 1621—1626—1634—1650, the last being designated in the title-page "the Fourth Edition Revised and by His last corrected Coppy Printed.' This could only apply to the edition of 1617-18, as Daniel died in 1619. But "revised and by his last corrected copy printed" was a mere booksellers' catch-penny device. A careful collation of all the texts reveals that in 1617-18 he simply reprinted the quarto of 1612-13, and so left it. The second part was published in the folio of 1617-18, Mr. Sidney Lee being mistaken in recording a separate (4to) issue thereof. The retention of the phrasing noted above shows how little the Author concerned himself with either revision or correction, albeit it is to be remembered that he died in the following year. Having found the folio of 1626 the most accurately as well as handsomely printed, I have made it our 'copy,' albeit I repeat there are no differences between one and another beyond trifling and

self-correcting misprints: *e.g.*, in 1650, in the Epistle to the Queen, "my" is dropped inadvertently in this sentence: "as far as [my] ability would extend"—correct in 1618 and 1626 and the others; and again in the "Certaine Advertisements to the Readers" in 1650, "greedy of well doing," for "greedy of doing well." The only misprint corrected in 1650 that I have happed on is 'yeeld' for a dropped 'l' in 1626. The promised Appendices of "Certaine Advertisements" never appeared.

For notices of after-editions 1706, 1719, and a curious tract on alleged corrupting "alterations in Mr. Daniel's History," and an estimate of the work, our II. Memorial-Introduction—Critical, prefixed to the present volume may be consulted. Our text is given in integrity throughout, even its odd spellings of words and names. On all those see Glossarial Index in Vol. V.

A. B. G.

A Speciall Priuiledge, Licence and Authority, is granted by the Kings Maiesties Letters Patents, vnto the Author *Samuel Daniel*, one of the Groomes of the Queenes Maiesties most Honorable Priuy Chamber, for him, his Executors, Administrators, Assignes or Deputies, to Print, or cause to bee Imprinted, and to sell assigne and dispose, to his, or their benefit, This Booke, intituled, *The Collection of the History of England.* Streightly forbidding any other to Imprint or cause to bee Imprinted, to Import, vtter or sell, or cause to be Imported, vttered, or sold, the sayd Booke or Bookes, or any part thereof, within any of his Majestyes Dominions, vpon payne of his Majesties high displeasure, and to forfeit Fiue pounds Lawfull *English* Mony for euery such Booke or Bookes, or any part thereof, printed Imported, vttered, or sold, contrary to the meaning of this Priuiledge, besides the Forfeiture of the sayd Booke, Bookes, &c. as more at large appeareth by his Maisties sayd Letters Patents, dated at *Westminster*, the 11. of *March*, in the 15 yeare of his Reigne of *England* and of *Scotland* the one and fiftieth.

THE COLLECTION

Of the Hiſtory of

England:

By S. D.

LONDON,
Printed for *Simon Waterſon*,
1626.

Cum Priuilegio.

I. EPISTLE-DEDICATORY.

TO THE RIGHT HONOVRABLE SIR ROBERT CARR VISCOVNT ROCHESTER, Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter, and one of his Maiesties most Honourable Priuy Councell.

O giue a reason of my worke, is in my part as well as to do it. And therefore my Noble Lord, why I vndertooke to write this History of England, *I alledge, that hauing spent much time of my best vnderstanding, in this part of humane Learning, Historie, both in forraine countries where especially I tooke those notions, as made most for the conduct of businesse in this kind, and also at home, where it hath bene in my fortune (besides conference with men of good experience) to haue seene many of the best discourses, negotiations, instructions and relations of the generall affaires of the World: I resolued to make triall of my forces in the contexture of our owne Historie, which for that it lay dispersed in confused peeces, hath bene much desired*

of many. And held to be some blemish to the honour of our Country to come behinde other Nations in this kind, when neither in magnificence of State, glory of action, or abilities of nature, we are any way inferior to them. Nor is there any Nation, whose Ancestors haue done more worthy things, both at home and abroad; especially for matter of war. For since the Romans, no one people hath fought so many battailes prosperously. And therfore out of the tender remorse, to see these men much defrauded of their glory so deerely bought, and their affaires confusedly deliuered, I was drawne (though the least able for such a worke) to make this aduenture: which howsoeuer it proue, will yet shew the willingnesse I haue to do my Countrey the best seruice I could; and perhaps, by my example induce others of better abilities, to vndergoe the same. In the meane time, to draw out a small substance of so huge a masse, as might haue something of the vertue of the whole, could not be, but an extraction worthy the paines, seeing it concernes them most to know the generall affaires of England, *who haue least leasure to read them.*

And the better to fit their vse, I haue made choyce to deliuer onely those affaires of action, that most concerne the gouernment: diuiding my worke into three Sections, according to the Periods of those Ages that brought forth the most remarkable Changes: And euery Section into three Bookes. Whereof the first, briefly relates the various mutations of State, plantation, and supplantations of the inhabitants in the chiefest part of this Isle, before the comming of the Norman. *The second booke containes the life and Raigne of* William *the first. The third, the succession of* William *the second,* Henry *the first, and* Stephan. *And this part, I have here done.*

The second Section begins with Henry *the second, the first of the royall family of* Plantagenet, *containes the liues of foureteene Princes of that Line, and takes vp* 339 *yeares. A space of time that yeelds vs a view of a wider extent of Dominion, by the accession of a third part of* France *to the Crowne of* England: *more matter of action, with a greater magnificence, and glory of*

State then euer: intermixt with strange varieties and turnes of Fortune: the inflammation of three ciuill warres, besides popular insurrections: the deposing of foure kings, and fiue vsurpations: which, in the end, so rent the State, as all the glory of forraine greatnesse, which that line brought, expired with it selfe.

The third Section containes the succession of fiue Soueraigne Princes of the Line of Tewdor, *and the space of* 129 *yeares. A time not of that virilitie as the former, but more subtile, and let out into wider notions, and bolder discoueries of what lay hidden before. A time wherein began a greater improuement of the Soueraigntie, and more came to be effected by wit then the sword: Equall and iust incounters, of State, and State in forces, and of Prince, and Prince in sufficiencie. The opening of a new world, which strangely altered the manner of this, inhancing both the rate of all things, by the induction of infinite Treasure, & opened a wider way to corruption, whereby Princes got much without their swords: Protections, & Confederations to counterpoyse, & preuent ouer-growing powers, came to bee maintained with larger pensions. Leidger Ambassadors first imployed abroad for intelligences. Common Banks erected, to returne and furnish moneys for these businesses. Besides strange alterations in the State Ecclesiasticall: Religion brought forth to bee an Actor in the greatest Designes of Ambition and Faction. To conclude, a time stored with all varietie of accidents fit for example, and instruction. This is the scope of my designe.*

And this I addresse to you, my Noble Lord, not onely as a testimonie of my gratitude for the honorable regard you haue taken of mee: but also in respect you being now a publick person, and thereby ingaged in the State of England, *as well as incorporated into the Body thereof, may here learne, by the obseruance of affaires past (for that, Reason | is strengthened by the successe of exãple) to iudge the righter of things present: and withall, that herein, you, seeing many precedents of such as haue runne euen and direct courses, like your owne (howsoeuer the successe was) neuer wanted glory, may therby be comforted to continue*

this way of integrity, and of being a iust seruant both to the King and the Kingdome: nor can there be a better testimony to the world of your owne worth, then that you loue and cherish the same, (wheresoeuer you finde it) in others.

And if by your hand it may come to the sight of his Royall Maiesty, whose abilities of nature are such, as whatsoeuer comes within his knowledge is presently vnder the dominion of his iudgement, I shall thinke it happy: and though in it selfe, it shall not be worthy his leasure, yet will it bee much to the glory of his Reigne, that in his daies there was a true History written; a liberty proper onely to Common-wealths, and neuer permitted to Kingdomes, but vnder good Princes. Vpon which liberty notwithstanding I will not vsurpe, but tread as tenderly on the graues of his magnificent Progenitors, as possibly I can: Knowing there may (in a kind) be Læsa Maiestas, *euen against dead Princes. And as in reuerence to thē, I will deliuer nothing but what is fit for the world to know, so through the whole worke I will make conscience that it shall know nothing but (as faithfully as I can gather it) Truth: protesting herein / to haue no other passion, then the zeale thereof, nor to hold any stubborne opinion, but lyable to submission and better information.*

Your Lordships to command,

SAMVEL DANYEL.

II. EPISTLE-DEDICATORY.

TO THE MAIESTY OF ANNE OF DEN-MARKE, QVEENE OF ENG-land, Scotland, France and Ireland.

Veenes, the Mothers of our Kings, by whom is continued the Blessing of succession that preserues the Kingdome, hauing their parts running in the times wherin they liue, are likewise interessed in the Histories thereof, which contayne their memories and all that is left of them, when they haue left to be in this world. And therefore to you, great Queene of *England* (and the greater by your loue to the Nation, and the blessing you haue brought foorth for the continuation of the future good thereof) doe I your humblest seruant addresse this peece of our History; which, as it is a worke of mine, appertaynes of right to your Maiesty, being for the most part done vnder your Roofe, during my attendance vpon your Sacred Person;

and if euer it shall come to be an entire worke, and merit any acceptation in the world, it must remaine among the memorials of you, and your time, as brought foorth / vnder the splendor of your goodnesse. Howsoeuer, this which is done, shall yet shewe how desirous I haue beene to lay out my time and industry, as farre as my ability would extend, to doe your Maiesty and my Country seruice in this kind.

And though at high Altars, none but high Priests ought to sacrifize, yet vouchsafe mighty Queene, to accept this poore oblation from the hand of your Maiesties

Humblest seruant

Samuel Danyel.

Certayne

Certaine Aduertisements to the Reader.

THis Peece of our History, which heere I divulge not, but impart priuately to such Worthy Persons as haue fauoured my indeauors herein, should long since haue beene much more: And come abroad with Dedication, Preface, *and all the Complements of a Booke, had my Health and Meanes beene answerable to my desire: But beeing otherwise, I must intreate my Friends, to be content to be payde by peeces, as I may, and accept my willingnesse to yeelde as much as mine ability can performe. It is more then the Worke of one man (were he of neuer so strong Forces) to compose a passable Contexture of the whole History of* England. *For, though the inquisition of Antient times, written by others, be prepared, yet the Collection and Disposition I find most Laborious: And I know,* quam sit magnum dare aliquid in manus hominum, *Especially in this kind, wherein more is expected then hath beene deliuered before. Curiosity will not be content with Ordinaries. For mine owne part I am so greedy of doing well, as nothing suffices the appetite of my care heerein. I had rather be Maister of a small peece handsomely contriued, then of vaste roomes ill proportioned and vnfurnished; and I know many others are of my mind.*

Now for what I haue done, which is the greatest part of our History (and wherein, I dare auow, is more together of the maine, then hath beene yet contracted into one peece), I am to render an

Account whence I had my Furniture: Which if I haue omitted to Charge my Margin withall, I would haue the Reader to know, that in the Liues of William *the First,* William *the Second;* Henry *the First, and* Stephen; *I haue especially followed* William Malmsbury, Ingulphus, Roger Houveden, Huntingdon, *with all such Collections, as haue beene made out of Others for those times. In the Liues of* Henry *the Second,* Richard *the First,* Iohn *and* Henry *the Third:* Giraldus Cambrensis, Rushanger, Mat Paris, Mat. Westminst. Nich. Triuet, Caxton, *and others. In the Liues of* Edward *the First,* Edward *the Second and Third:* Froissart *and* Walsingham, *with such Collections as by* Polydore Virgile, Fabian, Grafton, Hall, Holingshead, Stow *and* Speed, *diligent and Famous Trauailors in the search of our History, haue beene made and diuulged to the world. For forraine businesses (especially with* France, *where we had most to doe) I haue for Authors,* Paulus AEmilius, Haillan, Tillet, *and others, without whom we cannot truly vnderstand our owne Affayres. And where otherwise I haue had any supplies extraordinary, eyther out of Record or such Instruments of State, as I could procure, I haue giuen a true account of them in the Margin. So that the Reader shall be sure to be payd with no counterfeit Coyne, but such as shal haue the Stampe of Antiquity, the approbation of Testimony, and the allowance of Authority, so farre as I shall proceed herein.*

And for that I would haue this Breuiary to passe with an vn-interrupted deliuery of the especiall Affaires of the Kingdome (without imbroyling the memory of the Reader) I haue in a body apart, vnder the Title of an Appendix, *Collected all Treaties, Letters, Articles, Charters, Ordinances, Intertaynments, prouisions of Armies, businesses of Commerce, with other passages of State appertayning to our History; which assoone as I haue meanes to Print, shall, for the better satisfying of such Worthy persons, as may make vse of such Materials, accompany this Collection, and to this* Appendix, *I haue made references in the Margin as occasion requires.*

For the Worke it selfe, I can Challenge nothing therein but onely the sowing it together, and the obseruation of those necessary circumstances, and inferences which the History naturally ministers: Desirous to deliuer things done, in as euen and quiet an Order, as such an heape will permit, without quarrelling with the Beleefe *of Antiquity, deprauing the Actions of other Nations to aduance our owne, or keeping backe those Reasons of State they had, for what they did in those times: holding it fittest and best agreeing with Integrity (the chiefest duty of a Writer) to leaue things to their owne Fame, and the Censure thereof to | the Reader, as being his part rather then mine, who am onely to recite things done, not to rule them.*

Now for the errors herin committed, either by mine owne mistakings or the Printers ouer-sight, I must craue Pardon of course. It is a Fate Common to Bookes and Booke-men, and wee cannot auoyde it. For besides our owne faylings, we must heere take vp many things vpon other mens credits, which often comes imperfect to our hands: As the summes of Monies, numbers of Souldiers, Shippes, the slayne in Battaile, Computation of Times, differences of Names and Titles, &c. Wherein our Authors agree not. And it were to be wished that we had more assured notes of these particulars then we haue, especially for summes of Monies (in regard it serues much for instruction) wherein I doubt many of our Collectors haue bin but ill Accountants, reckoning Markes for Pounds, and Pounds for Markes. The Computation of Times is not of so great moment, figures are easily mistaken; the 10. *of Iuly, and the* 6. *of August, with a yeare ouer or vnder, makes not a man the wiser in the businesse then done, which is onely that hee desires. But these things being but of the By, the vnderstanding Reader will not much care to set at them, and therefore I referre him to the Mayne of more important consideration. |*

THE COLLECTION OF THE HISTORIE OF *ENGLAND*: CONTAINING BRIEFLY THE ESPECIALL AFFAIRES OF THE GOVERNMENT: COMPILED

By Samvel Daniel, one of the Groomes of the Queenes Maieſties moſt Honourable *Priuie Chamber.*

VNdertaking to Collect the principall affaires of this Kingdome, I had a desire to haue deduced the same from the beginning of the first Brittish Kings, as they are registred in their Catalogue; but finding no authenticall warrant how they came there, I did put off that desire with these considerations: That a lesser part of time, and better knowne (which was from *William* the first, surnamed the *Bastard*) was more then enough for my ability: and how it was but our curiosity to search further backe into times past then we might well discerne, and whereof, we could neyther haue proofe, nor

profit. How the beginnings of all people and States were as vncertaine, as the heads of great Riuers; and could not adde to our vertue, and peraduenture little to our reputation to know them. Considering, how commonly they rise from the springs of pouerty, pyracie, robbery and violence, howsoeuer fabulous Writers (to glorifie their nations) striue to abuse the credulity of after ages with heroycall, or miraculous beginnings. For States (as men) are euer best seene, when they are vp, and as they are, not as they were. Besides (it seemes) God in his Prouidence to checke our presumptuous inquisition, wraps vp all things in vncertainty, barres vs out from long antiquity, and bounds our searches within the compasse of a few ages, as if the same were sufficient, both for example and instruction to the gouernment of men. For had we the particular occurrents of all ages, and all nations, it might more stuffe, but not better our vnderstanding. We shall finde still the same correspondencies to hold in the actions of men: Vertues and Vices the same, though rising and falling, according to the worth or weaknesse of Gouernors: the causes of the ruines, and mutations of States to be alike; and the trayne of affayres carried by precedent, in a course of Succession, vnder like colours.

But yet, for that the chaine of this collection hath a linke of dependency with those former times, we shall shew the passage of things the better: if we take but a superficiall view of that wide, and vncertainly-related state of this Land, since the candle of letters gaue vs some little light thereof. Which was, since the *Romans* made it a tributary Prouince to their Empire. For before, as it lay secluded out of the way, so it seemed out of the knowledge of the world. For *Iulius Cæsar*, being but on the other side in *Gaul*, could not attaine to any particular information of the state of *Brittaine*, by any meanes he could vse, but by certaine Merchants (of whom he got together as many as he could) who told him something of the coast-townes, but of the state, and condition of the

in dwellers, they could say nothing: either so incurious were they of further knowledg then what concerned their trade, or the people heere so wary to keepe their state reserued and vnknowne to strangers. And yet *Cæsar* gaue out, that they sub-ayded the *Gaules* against him, and made it the occasion of his quarrell, and inuasion of the Land, whereof he onely subdued the South parts, and rather shewed it, then won it to the *Roman* Empire.

Of the forme of Gouernment among the *Brittaines.*—But now, what was the state, and forme of gouernment among the *Brittaines*, before this subjection. The first certaine notice we have (is also by the same *Cæsar*), who tells vs (*Cæs. Comment.* lib. 5) how they were diuided into many seuerall states: nominates fower Princes of *Kent* by the title of Kings: how *Casseuellaunus*, by the Common Councell was elected, in this their publique danger, to haue the principall administration of the State, with the businesse of warre: and afterward, how the Citties sent their hostages vnto him. Whereby wee perceiue it was no Monarchy, as it is reported to haue beene, but like to the *Gaules*, with whom it was then one in religion (and much alike in fashon and language) deuided into a multitude of petty regiments, without any entire rule or combination (*Complures sunt apud eos dominationes.* Strabo, lib. 4). As now, wee see all the west world (lately discouered) to bee, and generally all other countries are in their first, and naturall free nakednesse, before they come to bee taken in; either by some predominant power from abroad, or grow to head within themselves, of strength, and vnderstanding to ouer-maister, and dispose of all about them; introducing such formes of rule, as ambition, or their other necessities shall beget. And such was then the state of *Brittaine*, *Gaule*, *Spaine*, *Germany*, and all the west parts of *Europe*, before the *Romans* (ouer-growing first the people of *Italy* in like manner diuided) did by strength, and cunning, vnlocke those liberties of theirs. And such as were then tearmed Kings, were but as their Generalls

in warre, without any other great iurisdiction, within those small limits they held. So that to tell vs of the state of a Monarchie in this Land before that time (as if alone vnlike, or more in State then all other nations) is to giue entertainement to those narrow conceits, as apprehend not the progresses in the affaires of mankinde; and onely the inuention of such, as take all their reason, from the example, and *Idea* of the present Customes they see in vse. For had there beene an absolute Monarch in these parts, which might haue affronted the *Romans* with the power of a well-vnited State, it had beene impossible for them (hauing oftentimes much to do, euen with some poore Prince of a small territory) to haue circumuented, or confounded (with all their stratagems, and iniustice) the peace, and liberty of the world in such sort as they did. And though the *Brittaines* were then simple, and had not the firebrand of letters, yet seemed they more iust, and honest, and brought forth on the stage of action men as magnanimous (and toucht with as true a sence of honour, and worthinesse) as themselues.

But hauing no firme combinements to chayne them together in their publique dangers, they lay loose to the aduantage of the common enemy; working vpon the factions, and emulations, vsuall to such diuisions, and were made the instruments of their owne subiection: for whilest euery one defended them apart, the whole was ouercome.

So that with what credit, the accompt of aboue a thousand yeares from *Brute* to *Casseuellaunus* (in a line of absolute Kings) can be cleared, I doe not see; and therefore will leaue it on the booke to such as will bee creditors, according to the substance of their vnderstanding. And yet, let me craue pardon, least being but to report, I might seeme / to contend, if I make this inquirie: how the memorie of those former times, came to be preserued and deliuered to posteritie, if they had not the vse of letters in this Land (as it seemes by all probability they had not) before they were introduced by

the *Romans*; who (sure would haue giuen vs notice thereof) had they found them here at their comming, and especially of schooles and the Greeke tongue, reported to haue beene planted here for many ages before: but they tell vs of no such thing: they informe vs how the *Druydes*, who were the ministers of Religion and Iustice, the especiall men of knowledge) committed not their mysteries to writing, but deliuered them by tradition, whereby the memorie of them after their suppression (first by *Augustus*, and after by *Claudius*) came wholly to perish with them. Which, had they had letters and bookes, could neuer by all the power and authoritie of the *Roman* State, beene so vtterly extinct, but that we should haue heard something more of them.

Besides it is strange how the Greeke tongue, and the knowledge of Philosophie, should be brought hither so farre off, and so soone; seeing it was late (as *Liuy* saith) before it came into *Italie*, being so neere at hand. Moreouer, it is considerable, how it made that transmigration, whether by Sea or Land? By Sea, *Hercules* had set Pillars that shut vp the world many ages after, for passing that way. If by Land, *Germany*, and other Countries on that side, would haue taken some part in the passing; but *Germany* then, we finde had no letters at all; only *Merseilies*, a *Colonie* of the Greekes being in the midway, might be a gate, to let it into *Gaule*, and so hither: but they say the *Merseillans* vsed onely Greeke Characters at first, but for their priuate accompts and contracts in traffique, and no otherwise. So that it seemes then, the *Brittaines* receiued first letters (with their subiection) from the *Romanes*, and *Agricola*, Præfect of the Prouince vnder *Domitian*, caused them heere to be taught (as *Cornelius Tacitus*, his sonne in law), reports vpon this occasion. "*Aduice was taken*, sayth he, *that the people dispersed, rude and so apt to rebellion, should bee inured to ease and quiet by their pleasures: and therefore they exhorted priuatly, and ayded them publikely to the building of Temples, Bources, Pallaces:*

commending whom they found forward, and correcting the unwilling, so that the emulation of honor was for necessity: then they caused the principall mens sons to be taught the liberall Sciences, extolling their wits for learning, aboue the Gaules, *in so much as they who lately scorned the* Roman *tong, now desired eloquence. Hereupon grew our habits in honor, the Gowne frequent, and by degrees, a generall collapsion into those softnings of vices, faire houses, bathes, and delicate banquets, and that, by the ignorant, was termed humanity, when it was a part of seruitude."*[1] Thus farre he acquaints vs with the introduction, and cause of the *Romane* learning in this Land. Which (had it had the *Greeke* tong, so many hundred yeares before) would haue beene as forward in the liberall Sciences, as the *Romanes* and not needed this emollition by learning. Philosophy would haue prepared them to a sufferance of subiection, that they could not haue beene so vniuersally rude, and barbarous as they are reported to haue beene. So that I feare me, of all that lies beyond this time, we can haue no other intelligence, but by tradition. Which how we may credit for so long past (when letters, for all the assurance they can make, breake faith with vs in the information of things euen present) let it be judged.

And now for the time since (which seemes to be all that amounts to our knowledge of the State of *Brittaine*), we finde it, during the Domination of the *Romans*, gouerned by their Præfects; and if they had Kings of the Brittish Nation, they were tributary, and had their whole authority depending on that Empire; which, as the same *Tacitus* saith, made it now

[1] *Cic. in Ep. ad Atticum, vbi Belli Britannici exitum expectari scribis, nullius ex ea spem prædæ, nisi ex mancipijs, ait, ex quibus nullos puto te, literis, aut musicis eruditos expectare. Et lib. de Nat. Deorum, paris eos cum Scithis barbaries insimulat. Ingenio Gallorū partim similes sunt; partim simpliciores, & magis barbari, Strabo* lib. 4. And it was after the subjection of *Gaule* that they intertayned Philosophers, and Phisitions for publique Readings, and became a Schoole for those parts as we may perceiue by *Strabo* libro 2.

their custome to haue Kings, the instruments of servitude: speaking of *Cogodunus* to whom *Claudius* gaue certain Cities in *Brittaine*, with title of King.[1] For now after *Cæsar* had opened the passage, and made tributary so much as he subdued, the rest could not long hold out, against that all-incompassing State of *Rome*: although during the time of their ciuill warres, and change of gouernment, from a Republique to a Monarchie, this Country lay neglected, the space of twenty yeares: yet, after *Augustus* had setled the soueraignty, and possest all the wide obedience of that Empire, the Princes and Citties of *Brittaine* (fearing to be enforced) came in of their own accord, with their gifts and tributes, and the rather; for that as yet, they had found no other weight of / subiection, then a tollerable tribute, which, it seemed, they were content to endure with the rest of their neighbours. But after *Augustus* time, when the corruptions of that State, had bred miserable inflamations, in all parts of the world, the *Brittaines*, what with their owne factions, and those of their *Roman* commanders, remained in an vncertaine obedience, till the time of *Claudius* the Emperour, who hauing much of the fume of glory, and little fire to raise it otherwhere: casts an especial eye on this Prouince, to make it the pompous matter of his triumph. And, to prepare the way, without aduenture of himselfe, fore-sends *Publius Ostorius Scapula*, a great warrier, *Pro-prætor* into *Brittaine*, where he met with many turbulencies, and a people hardly to be driuen, howsoeuer they might be led: yet as one who well knew his maister; and how the first euents are those which incusse a daughtingnesse, or daring, imployd all meanes to make his expeditions sudaine, and his executions cruel. Notwithstanding did

[1] *Nostra ætate, inquit* Strabo, *lib.* 4. *Regulorũ quidem Britanicorum, legationibus & officijs amicitiam* Augusti Cæs. *consecuti, donaria in Capitolio dedicarunt: familiaremq;* Romanis *totam pene insulam redegerunt.* And at that time it seemes by *Strabo*, held it not worth the garding for that it would not quit the charge.

Caradocus (one of the Brittish Kings) hold these great *Romans* worke for nine yeares together, and could not bee surprised, till betrayed by his owne Nation, he was diliuered into their hands, and brought to *Rome* captiue, with his wife and children, to be the subiect of their triumph: whereof notwithstanding the glory was his.

But *Claudius* had the honour of taking in the whole Isle of *Brittaine*, to the *Romane* Empire, which though thus wone, was not, till a long time after, ouercome. For now the *Brittaines* (vnderstanding the misery of their dissociation: how their submission brought but the more oppression) colleague themselues against the *Romanes*, taking their occasion vpon the outrages, committed on the person and State of Queene *Voadicia*, widdow of *Prasutagus* King of the *Iceni*, a great, and rich Prince who (at his death) had left *Nero* his heire, and two daughters, hoping thereby to free his house from iniury: but it fell out contrary, for no sooner was he dead, but his kingdom was spoyled by the *Centurions*, his house ransac'kt by slaues, his wife beaten, and his daughters rauished. Besides, the chiefe men of the *Iceni* (as if all the religion had beene giuen in prey) were reft of their goods, and the Kings kinsmen esteemed as captiues: with which contumely, and feare of greater mischiefe, they conspire with the *Trinobantes* and others (not yet inured to seruitude) to resume their liberty. And first set vpon the Garrisons of the *Veteran* souldiers (whom they most hated) defeited the ninth legion, whereof they slew all the foote, forced *Cerialis* the Legat, and leader to flight, and put to the sword seauenty thousand *Romans* and associats, inhabiting their municipal Townes, *London*, *Virolame*, *Camolodunum* (now *Maldon*); before *Suetonius* Gouernour of the Prouince could assemble the rest of the dispersed forces, to make head against their Army (consisting of 120000 *Brittaines*) conducted by *Voadicia*, who (with her two daughters, brought into the field to mooue compassion and reuenge) incites them to that noble, and manely

worke of liberty: which to recouer, she protests to hold her selfe there, but as one of the vulgar (without weighing her great honour and birth) resolved either to winne or die. Many of their wiues were likewise there, to be spectators and incouragers of their husbands valour; but in the end *Suetonius* got the victory with the slaughter of foure score thousand *Brittanes*, whereupon *Voadicia* poysons her selfe: and the miserable Countrie with their heauie losse, had also more weights layde vpon their seruitude. And yet after this made they many other defections, and brauely strugled with the *Romans*, vppon all aduantages they could apprehend, but the continuall supplies, euer ready from all parts of that mighty Empire, were such, as the *Brittaines* (hauing no meanes, but their owne swords, in an vncomposed State, layde all open to inuasion) spent their bloud in vaine. And in the end, growing base with their fortune (as losing their vertue with their liberty) became vtterly quailed, and miserably held downe to subiection, by the powerfull hand of foureteene Garrisons, disposed in seuerall limmits of the Land, with their companies, consisting of sundry strange nations, computated in all to bee 52. thousand foote, and 300. horse; besides 37. companies containing 23. thousand foote, and 1300. horse; which continually guarded the North parts, where that which is now *Scotland*, and obeyed not the *Romaine* Empire, was excluded from the rest with a wall or trench, first raysed by *Agricola*, after re-edified by *Adrian*, *Seuerus* and others. / (*De noticia vtr. Imper.* Pancioroul.)

The misery of the *Brittaines* vnder the *Romans*.—And in this sort continued the state of *Britaine* whilst the *Romans* held it; enduring all the calamities that a deiected nation could doe vnder the domination of strangers proude, greedy, and cruell: Who not onely content by all tyrannicall meanes to extort their substance, but also constrained their bodies to serue vnder their ensignes, when or wheresoeuer their quarrellous ambition would expose them. And besides, they being at the will of their rulers in their obedience, they were

forced to follow them also in their rebellions. For after the election of the Emperours grew to bee commonly made by the Armies, many possessing those mightie *Roman* forces here, were proclaimed *Cæsars*, and put for the whole Empire. As first *Carausius*, and after him *Alectus*, whom *Constantius* (the associate of *Maximianus* in the Empire) at his first comming into *Britaine*, by *Asclepiodorus* the Prætorian Præfect vanquished, with all such as tooke part with him. After that, the *Caledonians*, and *Picts* from the North parts, made irruptions into the State, and much afflicted the *Britaines*, whom to represse, *Constantius* (then sole Emperour of the West) came the second time into this Land; and in an expedition made against them died at *Yorke*, whither his sonne *Constantine* (a little before his death) repaired out of *Illyria*, escaping a traine laid for him by *Galerius* Emperour of the East, with whom hee was in the warres against the *Sarmatians*, when his father came first into *Britain* against *Alectus*. And here was he now first saluted Emperour, for which it seemes he much esteemed the Country, as that which gaue birth to his dignity. And reordering the gouernment thereof (for a future security) deuides it into fiue Prouinces to be ruled by one Vice-gerent, fiue Rectors, two Consulars, and three Presidents. (*De Notitia vtriusq; Imper.*). After whose time wee haue no certaine nor apparant marke to direct vs which way the State went, till the reigne of *Valentinian* the elder, who sends *Theodosius* (the father of him who was after Emperour of that name) into *Brittaine* against the irruption of the *Picts*, *Attacotti*, *Scoti*, *Saxones & Franci*, which of all sides inuaded and spoiled the Country; and after *Theodosius* had by the forces of the *Battaui* and *Heruli* cleered it, *Ciuilis* was sent to gouerne the Prouince, and *Dulcitius* the Army: men of faire names for good offices.

The people of *Brittaine* consumed in the factions of the Emperours.—In these warres with *Theodosius* was one *Maximus*, a man borne in *Spaine*, but of *Roman* education, who after, in the time of the yonger *Valentinian*, hauing the charge of the

Army, was here proclaimed *Cæsar*, and to subuert the present Emperour, transports the whole power of *Brittainé*: and first in his way subdues *Gaule*, and there furnishes euery place of defence with *Brittish* souldiers: and they say, peopled the whole Countrey of *Armorica* (now called *Brittaine* in *France*) with the same nation: which yet retaines their language, in some kinde to this day. And hauing spred one Arme to *Spaine*, the other to *Germany*, imbraced so great a part of the Empire, as he draue *Valentinian* to seeke ayde of *Theodosius* Emperour of the East, after the vanquishment and death of his brother *Gratianus* at *Lyons*. And by this immoderate vent, both of the Garrisons, and the ablest people of the Land hee dis-furnisht and left it in that impotencie, as it neuer recouered like power againe. All those great forces hee tooke with him, either were left in *Gaule*, or perished with him at *Aquileia*, where hee was ouerthrowne by *Valentinian*.

And yet againe in the time of *Honorius* the Emperour, the Colony of the *Veteran* souldiers fearing the invasion of the *Vandales*, made another defection, and tumultuarilie proclaimed Emperour one *Marcus*, whom shortly after they slue; then *Gratianus*, who likewise within foure monthes being murthered, they gaue the title to one *Constantine*, not so much for his merite, as the omination of his name. This *Constantine* taking the same course that *Maximus* did, whatsoeuer strength was left, or lately in any sort recouered, he emptyed it wholy, and made himselfe of that power, as hee subdued many of the Westerne Prouinces, gaue his sonne *Constans* (a Monke) the title of *Augustus*, and after many fortunes, and incounters with the forces of *Honorius*, became vanquished, and executed at *Arles*. Where also perished the whole power hee brought out of *Britain*. And so the State (hauing all the best strength exhausted, and none, or small supplies from the *Romans*) lay open to the rapine, and spoyle of their Northerne enemies: who taking the aduantage of this dis-furnishment, neuer left til / they had reduced them to extreme miseries: which forced

them to implore the aide of *Aetius*, Præfect of *Gaule* vnder *Valentinian* 3, and that in so lamentable manner (their Embassadors in torne garments, with sand on their heads, to stirre compassion) as *Aetius* was moued to send forces to succour them, and caused a wall to be raised vpon the trench (formerly made by *Adrian* from Sea to Sea) of eight foote thicke, and twelue high, inter-set with Bulwarkes, which the *Roman* souldiers, and an infinite number of *Brittains* (fitter for that worke then warre) with great labour effected. And so *Aetius* left them againe once more freed, and defended from their enemies: aduising them from thenceforth to inure and employ their owne forces without any more expectation of succour from the *Romans*, who (ouerwrought with other businesse) could not attend affaires that lay so farre off. No sooner had the enemy intelligence of the departure of these succours, but on they came (notwithstanding this fortification) battered downe the wall, ouerthrew the defenders, and harrowed the Country worse then before. Whereupon, againe this miserable people send to *Aetius*, vsing these words: *To Aetius thrice Consull, the sighes of the Brittaines*, and after thus complaine: *The barbarous enemy beates vs to the Sea, the Sea beates vs backe to the enemy: betweene these two kinds of deaths, we are either murdered, or drowned.* But their implorations preuailed not, for *Aetius* at that time had enough to do to keepe his owne head, and *Valentinian* the Empire: which now endured the last convulsions of a dying State; hauing all the parts, and Prouinces thereof miserably rent, and torne with the violences of strange nations. So that this was also in the fate of *Brittaine* to be first made knowne to perish by, and with the *Roman* State: Which neuer suffering the people of this Land to haue any vse, or knowledge of Armes within their owne Countrey, left them (vpon their owne dissolution) naked, and exposed to all that would assaile them.

The end of the *Romaines* gouernment in *Brittaine*. Anno 447.—And so ended the *Roman* Gouernment in *Brittaine*, which

(from their first inuasion by *Iulius Cæsar* to this *Valentinianus* the third) had continued the space of fiue hundred yeares. In all which time we finde but these seuen *Brittish* Kings nominated to haue reigned: *Theomantius*, *Cunobelinus*, *Guiderius*, *Aruiragus*, *Marius*, *Choelus*, and lastly *Lucius*, who is crowned with immortall honour, for planting Christian Religion within this Land. All other from *Lucius* to *Vortigern* (who succeeds this relinquishment) were *Roman* gouernours.

Anno 443.—This is briefly so much of especiall note, as I can collect out of the *Roman* historie, concerning the State and gouernment of *Brittain*: finding elsewhere little certaintie, and from henceforth (during their short possession of this Land) farre lesse. Whereof *Gildas* the *Brittain* complaines (Gildas *de excidio Britanniæ*), laying the cause on the barbarism of their enemies, who had destroyed all their monuments, and memorials of times past. And though himselfe wrote, about forty yeeres after the inuasion of the *Saxons*, and was next these times, we come now to remember, yet hath hee left (in his enigmaticall passions) so small light thereof, as we discerne very little thereby. Nor haue the *Brittaines* any honour by that antiquity of his, which ouerblacks them with such vgly deformities, as we can see no part cleere: accusing them to be *neither strong in peace, nor faithfull in war*: and vniuersally casts those aspersions on their manners, as if he laboured to inueigh, not to informe. And though no doubt there was (as euer is) in these periods of States a concurrencie of disorder, and a generall loosenesse of disposition that met with the fulnesse of time; yet were there no doubt, some mixtures of worth, and other notions of that age, wherewith after-times would haue beene much pleased to haue had acquaintance. But it seemes his zeale and passion (in that respect) wider then his charity, tooke vp the whole roome of his vnderstanding, to whom the reuerence of antiquity, and his title of *Sapiens* doth now giue Sanctuary, and we must not presume to touch him.

Anno 450. *Vortigern* calls in the *Saxons*.—Such was the State of *Britain* left without Armes, or order; when *Vortigern* (either by vsurpation, or faction) became King, and is sayd to be the author of the first calling in (or imploying, being in) the *Saxons* to make good his owne establishment, and the safety of his Kingdome against the *Picts* and *Scots*.

A description of the State of the *Saxons*.—*Hengist* and *Horsa* the Leaders of the *Saxons*. Their first plantation.—The *Saxons* at this time possest the third part of *Germany*, holding all the Countrey between the Riuers *Rhene*, and *Elue*, bounded on the North by the *Baltique* Sea, and the / *Ocean*. On the South by *Silua Hircinia*, and deuided by the riuer *Visurgis* into *Ostphalia*, and *Westphalia*: gouerned by an *Optimacie* of twelue Princes, with an election of a Soueraigne leader for the businesse of warre. This beeing so spacious, populous and neere a Country, well furnisht with shipping (which the *Brittaines* had not,) yeelded euer plentiful meanes to supply the vndertakers of this action (which were first two brothers *Hengist* and *Horsa*) with all necessarie prouisions vpon euery fit occasion. After they had been here a while as stipendaries, and finding the debility of Prince and people, their number soone increased. And first they had the Isle of *Thanet* allowed them to inhabite, then the whole Countrie of *Kent* was made ouer to *Hengist* by transaction, under couenant, to defend the Land against the *Picts* and *Scots*. And vpon the mariage of *Vortigern* with the Daughter, or Neece of *Hengist*, an exceeding beautifull Lady, (brought ouer of purpose to worke on the dotage of a dissolute Prince) larger priuiledges were granted: so that by this allyance, and the fertility of the Land, were drawne in so many of this populous, and military nation, that *Kent* in short time grew too narrow for them, and *Hengist* (to distend their power into other parts) aduised *Vortigern* to plant a Colony of them in the North beyond *Humber*, to be a continuall guard against all inuasions that way. Which being granted, he sends for *Otho* his brother, and sonne *Ebusa*, with great supplies out of

Saxony to furnish that designe. And so came the *Saxons* to haue first domination in *Kent*, and *Northumberland*, which contained all the Countrie from *Humber* to *Scotland*.

Vortigern is deposed.—*Vortimer* elected King of *Brittain*.—King *Arthur*.—And now became they of seruants maisters, to contemne their entertainours, and commit many insolencies. Whereupon the *Brittish* Nobility combine themselues, depose *Vortigern* (the Author of this improuident admission) and elect *Vortimer* his sonne, a Prince of great worth, who (whilest hee liued, which was not long) gaue them many fierce encounters; but all preuailed not, for the *Saxons* (being possest of the principall gate of the Land, lying open on their owne Countrie to receiue all supplies without resistance) had the aduantage to weare them out of all in the end. And besides force, they are sayd to haue vsed treachery (in murthering three hundred of the *Brittish* Nobility) at an assembly of peace at *Amesbury*, where they tooke their King prisoner, and would not release him, but vpon the grant of three Prouinces more. Also the long life of *Hengist* (a politique leader) of almost forty yeares continuance, made much for the setling here of their estate; which yet they could not effect, but with much trauaile, and effusion of blood. For the *Brittaines* (now made martiall by long practise and often battels) grew in the end so inraged to see their Countrie surprized from vnder their feet, as they solde the inheritance thereof at a very deare rate. Wherein we must attribute much to the worthinesse of their Leaders (whence the spirit of a people is raised) who in these their greatest actions were, especially *Ambrosius*, the last of the *Romans*, and *Arthur* the noblest of *Brittaines*: A man in force and courage aboue man, and worthie to haue beene a subiect of truth to posterity, and not of fiction (as Legendary writers haue made him:) for whilst hee stood, hee bare vp the sinking State of his Countrie, and is said to haue encountred the *Saxons* in twelue set battailes: wherein he had either victory, or equall reuenge. In the end, himselfe ouerthrowne

by treason, the best men consumed in the warres, and the rest vnable to resist, fled into the mountaines, and remote deserts of the West parts of the Isle, and left all to the inuaders, daily growing more, and more vpon them.

For many principall men of *Saxony* (seeing the happy successe, and plantation here of *Hengist*) entred likewise on diuerse coasts to get estates for themselues, with such multitudes of people, as the *Brittaines* making head in one place were assaulted in another, and euery where ouerwhelmed with new increasing numbers.

The seuerall entries made by the *Saxons*.—For after *Hengist* had obtained the dominion of *Kent* (which from him became to be a kingdome), and *Otha*, and *Ebusa* possest of all the North-countries from *Humber* to *Scotland*: *Ella*, and his sonnes conquered the South-East parts, and beganne the kingdome of the South *Saxons*, contayning *Sussex*, and part of *Surrey*. Then *Cerdic*, and his sonnes landed at *Portsmouth* inuaded the South, and West parts, and began the kingdome of the West *Saxons*, which after contained the Countries of *Hampshire*, *Barkeshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Dorcetshire*, *Sommersetshire*, and *Deuonshire*. And about the same time, *Vffa* inuaded the North-East parts, and began the kingdome of the East Angles, containing *Northfolke*, *Suffolke*, *Cambridgeshire*, and the Isle of *Ely*; *Erkenwin* began the kingdome of the East *Saxons*, containing *Essex*, *Middlesex*, and a part of *Hartfordshire*.

Hauing thus (in a manner) surrounded the best of the whole State of *Brittaine*; they after inuaded the inner, and middle part. And *Cridda* began the Kingdome of *Mercna-land*, or middle Angles, contayning *Lincolnshire*, *North-hamptonshire*, *Huntingdonshire*, *Rutlandshire*, *Bedford*, *Buckingham*, *Oxfordshire*, *Cheshire*, *Derbie*, *Nottingham*, and *Staffordshire*, with parts of the shires of *Hereford*, and *Hartford*: *Warwicke*, *Shropshire*, *Lancaster* and *Gloucestershire*.

The *Brittaines* vtterly subdued by the *Saxons*.—And with all these Princes, and Leaders, before they could establish

their dominions, the *Brittaines* so desperately grappled, as plant they could not, but vpon destruction and desolation of the whole Country, whereof in the end they extinguished both the Religion, Lawes, Language, and all, with the people and name of *Brittaine*. Which hauing been so long a Prouince of great honour, and benefit to the *Roman* Empire, could not but partake of the magnificence of their goodly structures, Thermes, Aquaducts, High-waies, and all other their ornaments of delight, ease, and greatnesse: all which came to bee so vtterly razed, and confounded by the *Saxons*, as there is not left standing so much as the ruines to point vs where they were: for they being a people of a rough breeding that would not bee taken with these delicacies of life, seemed to care for no other monuments but of earth, and as borne in the field would build their fortunes onely there. Witnesse so many Intrenchments, Mounts, and *Borroughs* raised for tombes, and defences vpon all the wide champions, and eminent Hills of this Isle, remaining yet as characters of the deepe scratches made on the whole face of our Country, to shew the hard labour our Progenitors endured to get it for vs.

Which generall subuersion of a State is very seldome seene: Inuasion, and deuastation of Prouinces haue often beene made, but in such sort as they continued, or recouered, with some commixtion of their owne with the generation of the inuaders. But in this, by reason of the vicinage, and innumerous populacie of that Nation (transporting hither both sexes) the incompatibility of Paganisme, and Christianity, with the immense bloud-shed on both sides, wrought such an implacable hatred, as but one Nation must possesse all. The conquest made by the *Romanes*, was not to extirpate the Natiues, but to master them. The *Danes*, which afterward inuaded the *Saxons*, made only at the first depredations on the coast, and therewith for a time contented themselues. When they grew to haue further interest, they sought not the

subversion, but a community, and in the end a Soueraignty of the State, matching with the women they heere found, bringing few of their owne with them. The *Normans* dealt the like with the Prouince of *Nuestria* in *France*, who also after they had the dominion, and what the victorie would yeeld them in *England*, were content to suffer the people heere to haue their being, intermatched with them, and so grew in short space into their body. But this was an absolute subversion, and concurred with the vniversall mutation, which about that time happened in all these parts of the world; whereof, there was no one Countrey, or Prouince but changed bounds, inhabitants, customes, language, and in a manner, all their names.

The absolute subversion of *Brittaine*, concurred with the generall mutation of other States of the world.—For vpon the breaking vp of the *Roman* Empire (first deuided into two, and then by faction disioynted in each part) imploying the forces of many strange Nations to fortifie their sides, were made so wide ruptures in the North, and North-east bounds of that Empire, as there burst out infinite streames of strange people that ouer-ranne, and laid open the world againe to liberty, other formes, and limits of State: whereupon followed all these transmigrations, and shiftings of people from one Country to another. The *French* and *Burgognons* dispossest the *Gaules*, and gaue the name of *France*, and *Burgogne* to their Prouince. The *Gaules* transplanted themselues on some coasts of *Spaine*, where they could finde, or make their habitation: and of them had *Gallicia* / and *Portugall* their name. The *Huns* and *Auari* subdued *Pannonia*, and thereto gaue the name of *Hungary*.

Lombardie so called of the *Longberds*.—The *Longbeards* a people in *Germany*, bordered vpon the *Saxons*, entred *Italy*, got the greatest part thereof, and left there their name to a principall prouince, remaining to this day. The *Gothes* and *Vandalles* miserably afflicted the rest, sackt *Rome*, and after subdued, peopled, and possest *Spaine*. So that it was not in

the fate of *Brittaine* alone to be vndone, but to perish, almost, with the generall dissolution of other States, which happened about the same age.

Wherefore, we are now here to begin with a new Body of people, with a new State, and gouernment of this Land, which retained nothing of the former, nor held other memory but that of the dissolution thereof: where scarce a Citie, Dwelling, Riuer, Hill, or Mountaine, but changed names. *Brittaine* it selfe was now no more *Brittaine*, but *New Saxony*, and shortly after, either of the *Angles* (the greatest people of the inuadors) or of *Hengist*, called *Engist-Land*, or *England*. The distance made by the rage of warre, lay so wide betweene the conquering and the conquered people, that nothing either of Lawes, Rites, and Customes, came to passe ouer vnto vs from the *Brittaines*: nor had our Ancestors any thing from them, but their Countrey: which they first diuided into eight Kingdomes: all which, continued to the last extermination of the *Brittaines* vnder *Caretius* their King, with whom they were driuen ouer *Seuerne*, 136. yeares after the first entertainment of *Hengist*. And soone after, the *Saxons*, encroching vpon each other parts, or States (which neuer held certaine bounds) and the stronger vsurping vpon their weaker neighbours, reduced them to seauen Kingdomes; that of the *Northumbrians*, being made one of two: and then to sixe (the West *Saxons* taking in the Kingdome of *Sussex* to their dominion.) And so it continued about 250 yeares.

At the first, by the space of 150 yeares, they were meerely gouerned by their owne Lawes, without mixture of any other. But after *Augustus* the Monke, sent with forty others, by Pope *Gregory*, had conuerted *Æthelbert*, King of Kent, and some other, they all shortly after receiued the Christian faith, and had their Lawes and Rites ordered according to Ecclesiasticall constitutions. Many of their Kings, when their sterne asperity grew mollified by humility of the Religion, began to raise presently so many and great monuments of their piety in all

parts of the Land, as if they striued who should exceed therein, and had no other glory: Diuers of them renounced their temporall dignities for spirituall solitude, and became Monkes: as *Ætheldred*, and *Kinred*, Kings of *Mercna-land*; *Offa* King of the East *Saxons*; *Kadwalla* and *Ina*, Kings of the West *Saxons*; *Eadbert* King of *Northumbrians*, &c.

At length the Kingdomes of *Mercna-land*, and West Saxe, so farre ouer-grew the others in power, as betweene them two it lay, who should haue all. For *Ina*, a martiall, wise, and religious Prince, gouerning the West *Saxons*, first aduanced that Kingdome to a preheminencie, and did much to haue subdued *Mercna-Land*: but yet *Offa*, (afterwards King thereof) was in faire possibility to haue swallowed vp both the West *Saxons*, and all the rest of the Kingdoms. For whilst he liued, which was in the time of *Carolus Magnus*, (with whom he held league and amity) he was esteemed as the especiall King of the Land. But the many wrongs he did, and the murther committed in his house vpon *Æthelbert* King of the East *Angles*, comming to him under publique faith, and a Suitor to his daughter, were iustly reuenged vpon his posterity, which after him declining, in the end lost all. For *Egbert* descended from *Inegild*, the brother of *Ina*, attaining the Kingdome of the West *Saxons*, began the way to bring all the rest into subiection. And being a Prince, who (from a priuate fortune, wherein he liued below, with, and not aboue other men) had learned sufferance and moderation; and by the estate of an exile, experience; grew to have great aduantages ouer the time, and others borne-fortunes, and rose by these meanes.

Ina, his great Vncle, renouncing the world, with his Kingdome, and dying without issue, left the succession imbroiled, and out of the direct royall lyne as hee found it. So that those foure Kings of the West *Saxons*, who seuerally succeeded him; *Ethelard*, *Sigibert*, *Kenulph*, and *Britric*, were rather Kings by election, and their owne power, then / by right

of descent. And *Britric* knowing the weakenesse of his title, and the much promising forwardnesse of *Egbert*; with his propinquity in bloud, to the former Kings, practized to haue him made away; which he perceiuing, fled first to *Offa*, King of *Mercna-land*, where finding little security, in regard *Britric* had (to strengthen himselfe) married the daughter of the King, he escaped into *France*, and there remayned till the death of *Britric*, and then returning, obtaines that kingdome of the *West-Saxons*; subdues *Cornewall*, inhabited by the *Brittaines*; and after sets vpon *Bernulph*, newly inuested in the Kingdome of *Mercna-land*; a State (by the rupture of the Royall line) likewise growne tottering. For *Egferth*, the sonne of *Offa*, enioyed but foure moneths the inheritance of his fathers immanity: whereby that Kingdome descended collaterally to *Kennulph*, who left it to *Kenelme* a childe, after murthered by his sister *Quinred*. *Ceolulph*, brother to *Kennulph*, succeeding, after his first yeares reigne, was expeld by *Bernulph*, and *Bernulph* by *Egbert*, who made that Kingdome tributarie to the West *Saxons*, as hee did after that of the South, and East *Saxons*, with the Kingdome of *Northumberland*. And by this meanes (in a manner) attained to a soueraignty of the whole country. But the *Danes* imbroiling his peace in the end of his reigne, held him back from enioying such a fulnesse of power, as that wee may account him the absolute Monarch of the Kingdome; nor yet any of his successors, so long as the Danes continued vnsubiected. For they hauing first made irruptions into the State, in the reigne of the late King *Britric* (his predecessor) euer after held a part thereof and afflicted the whole, till they had attained the absolute soueraignty to themselues.

Egbert obtayned the kingdome, which by him was named *England*, An. 802.—The description of the *Danes*.—The *Danes* were a people of *Germany*, next neighbours to the *Saxons*, and of language and manners little different: Possessing besides *Cimbrica Chersonesus* (now called *Denmarke*)

all the Isles adiacent in the *Baltique* Sea, and sometimes the Kingdome of *Norway*: A mighty, rough, and martiall Nation; strong in shipping, through their exercise of piracy, and numerous in people for all suppliments. Who perceiuing here the happy successe, and plantation of the *Saxons*, were drawne with desire and emulation, likewise to put in for a part; the coast lying open to inuasion, and the many diuisions of the Land, with the discord of Princes, making them an easie way therevnto. So that in a manner, as soone as the *Saxons* had ended their trauailes with the *Brittaines*, and drew to setling of a Monarchy; the *Danes*, as if ordained to reuenge their slaughters, began to assault them with the like afflictions. The long, the many, and horrible encounters betweene these two fierce Nations, with the bloudshed, and infinit spoiles committed in euery part of the Land, are of so disordered and troublous memory, that what with their asperous name, together with the confusion of place, times, and persons, intricately deliuered, is yet a warre to the reader to ouer-looke them. And therefore to fauour mine owne paines and his, who shall get little profit thereby, I passe them ouer.

After the death of *Egbert*, *Æthelwolph* his sonne succeeded in the State, with the title of King of the West *Saxons* onely, and was a Prince more addicted to deuotion then action: as may be seene by his donation of the tenth part of his Kingdome (with exemption of all regall seruice) for the seruice of God: besides an annuity of three hundred markes, to be bestowed in pious vses at *Rome*; whither he went twice in person, with his youngest sonne *Alfred*, whom he especially loued; and whom (Pope *Leo* the fourth) annoynted a King, at eleuen yeares of age, as if diuining of his future fortune.

Vpon his last iourney and whole yeares stay at *Rome*, *Æthelbald* his eldest sonne, combin'd with the Nobility of the West *Saxons* to keepe him out, and depriue him vtterly of his gouernment, and wrought so, as notwithstanding the great

loue his people bare him, he was brought to yeeld vp the Kingdome of the West *Saxons* to *Æthelbald*, and retaine onely the Kingdome of the East Angles, (a State of farre lesse dignity) to himselfe. After which, reigning but two yeares, *Æthelbald* succeeded in the whole, and with great infamy, marrying his fathers widow, *Iudith*, daughter to *Charles le Chauue*, King of *France*, enioyed it but two yeeres and a halfe, when *Æthelred*, the second sonne of *Æthelulph*, entred to the gouernment, which hee held fiue yeares in continuall conflict with the *Danes*. After whom, /

Anno 872. *Alfred.*

Alfred, the mirrour of Princes (made a King before he had a Kingdome) at two and twenty yeares of his age (& in a yeare wherein eight seuerall battailes had been giuen to the *Danes* by the *Saxons*) beganne his troublous raigne, wherein he was perpetually in war, either against his enemies, or else against vices. First, after a great danger to lose all, he was forced to yeelde vp a part of the Kingdome (which was that of east *Angles* and *Northumberland*) to *Guthrum*, leader of the *Danes*, whom (vpon his baptization) he made his Confederate, and owner of that by right, which before he vsurped by violence.

King *Alfred* first made collection of the *Saxon* Lawes.— And notwithstanding all the continuall, and intricate toyle hee endured amidst the clattering and horror of armes, he performed all noble actions of peace, collecting first the Lawes of his predecessors, and other the Kings of the *Saxons* (as those of *Offa*, King of *Mercna-land*, and *Æthelbert* the first Christian English King) of which, by the graue aduice and consent of his States assembled, hee makes choyce of the fittest, abrogates those of no vse, and addes other according to the necessity of the time.

The first deuision of the Land into Shires, Hundreds and

Tythings.—And for that the wildnesse of warre, by reason of these perpetuall conflicts with strangers, had so let out the people of the Land to vnlawfull riots, and rapine, that no man could trauaile without conuoy: He ordayned the diuision of Shires, Hundreds, and Tithings, that euery English man (now the generall name for all the *Saxons*) liuing legally, might be of a certaine hundred, or Tything, out of which, he was not to remoue without security; and out of which, if he were accused of any crime, hee was likewise to produce sureties for his behauiour; which if he could not finde, hee was to endure the punishment of the Law. If any malefactor before or after hee had put in sureties escaped, all the Tything or Hundred were fined to the King, by which meanes he secured Trauailers, and the peace of his Countrey.

Publique Schooles first erected.—The opinion hee had of learning made him often complaine the want thereof, imputing it amongst his greatest misfortunes to haue beene bred without it, and to haue his Kingdome so vtterly destitute of learned men, as it was, through the long continuance of this Barbarous Warre: which made him send out for such, as were any way famous for letters, and hauing gotten them, hee both highly preferred them, and also (as they doe, who knowe not too much themselues) helde them in great veneration: Setting a higher price on meaner parts, then after plenty did on more perfections. *Grimbald* and *Scotus*, hee drewe out of *France*: *Asser* (who wrote his life) out of *Wales*, other from other parts: hee was the first lettered Prince wee had in *England*, by whose meanes and encouragement publique Schooles had here, eyther their reviuing or beginning.

Those wants of his owne, made him take a greater care for the education of his sons, with whom were bred vnder most diligent masters almost all the children of the Nobility within his Kingdome.

All his owne time he could cleare from other businesse, he bestowed in study, and did himselfe, and caused others to

translate many things into the vulgar tongue, which hee laboured (it seemes) much to adorne, and especially affected the *Saxons* meeters, whereby to glorifie that of a King, he attayned the title of Poet. (*West. Westm.*)

The naturall day consisting of 24. houres, he cast into three parts: whereof eight hee spent in prayer, study and writing; eight in the seruice of his body; and eight in the affaires of his State. Which spaces (hauing then no other engine for it) hee measured by a great wax light, deuided into so many parts, receiuing notice by the keeper thereof, as the seuerall houres passed in the burning.

The first suruey of the Kingdome.—With as faire an order did he proportion his reuenues, equalling his liberalities to all his other expences, whereof to make the current run more certaine, he took a precise notice of them, and made a generall suruay of the Kingdome, and had all the particulars of his Estate registred in a booke, which he kept in his Treasury at *Winchester*. And within this circumference of order, he held him in that irregularity of Fortune, with a weake disposition of body, and raigned 27. yeares, leauing his sonne *Edward*, a worthy Successor to mayntaine the line of Noblenesse thus begunne by him.

Anno 900.—*Edwardus Senior.*

Dward, though hee were farre inferiour to him in learning, went much beyond him in power: for he had all the Kingdome of *Mercna-land* in possession, whereof *Alfred* had but the homage, and as some Write, held soueraignty ouer the east *Angles*, and *Northumbrians*: though we find (in the ioynt Lawes that he, and *Guthrum* made together) they held the same confederation fore-concluded by *Alfred*. He also subdued the *Brittains* in *Wales*: Fortified and furnished with garrisons diuerse Townes in *England* that lay fit to preuent the incursions of the *Danes*;

and was all his raigne of 23. yeares in continuall action, and euer before hand with Fortune. And surely his father, he, and many that succeeded during this *Danicq* Warre, though they lost their ease, won much glory and renowne. For this affliction held them so in, as hauing little out-lets, or leasure for ease and luxury; they were made the more pious, iust and carefull in their gouernment: otherwise it had beene impossible to haue held out against the *Danes*, as they did, being a people of that power and vndauntable stomacke, as no fortune could deterre, or make to giue ouer their hold. And the imbecility of some vnactiue Prince, at that time had beene enough to haue let them quite into the whole: which may be the cause, that in the succession of some of these Kings, were certaine ruptures made out of course, in respect of their ablenesse. As first, after the death of this renowned King *Edward Senior*, his Sonne.

Anno 924.—*Athelstan* a Bastard preferred before the lawfull sonne.

Athelstan of full yeares, and spirit, was (notwithstanding the bracke in his birth) preferred before his legitimate sonne *Edmond* vnder age: Nor did *Athelstan* disappoynt the Kingdome in this worke, but performed all noble parts of Religion, Iustice and Magnanimity, and after sixteene yeares raigne died without issue.

Anno 940.—*Edmond*—*Edred* or *Eldred*—*Edwin*.

Edmond his brother succeeded him: A Prince likely to haue equalled the worth of his Predecessors, had he not vntimely perished by the hand of a base outlaw in his owne house, at a festiuall, amidst his people that dearely loued and honoured him. And though he left two sonnes, yet was

Dred his brother preferred to the Kingdome before them: who (making no variation from the line of Vertue continued by his Ancestors) was held perpetually in worke by the *Danes* during the whole time of his raigne, which was of ten yeares.

Dwin his Nephew, the eldest sonne of *Edmond*, succeeded him (an irregular youth) who interrupting the course of goodnesse liued dissolutely, and dyed wishedly. Otherwise had *Edgar* (the other sonne of *Edmond*) continued that rare succession of good Princes, without the interposition of any ill, which is not in the Fate of a Kingdome.

Anno 959.—*Edgar*—*Edgar* prouides shipping—A most vsefull progresse.

Dgar, though he were but sixteene yeares of age, yet capable of counsell, was by the graue aduice of his Bishops (who in that time of zeale held especially the raines on the hearts, and affections of men) put, and directed in the way of goodnesse, and became a most heroicall Prince. Amongst other his excellent actions of gouernment, hee prouided a mighty Nauy to secure his coasts from inuasion, which now hee found (though late) was the only meane to keep out those miseries from within, that thus lamentably afflicted the Land euer before negligent, or not invred to Sea-affaires. For when the *Romans* first subdued the same, there was no shipping but a few small vessells made of wicker, and couered with hides: wherby they, and after the *Danes* (both mighty, as those times gaue, in shipping) found that easie footing they had. Yet *Egbert* is sayd to haue, prouided a strong Nauy, about the yeare 840. And *Alfred* 30. or 40. yeares after did the like. But either now dis-vsed or consumed by the enemy, *Edgar* re-edifies, & sets forth a fleete consisting (as some write) of 1600. saile, others a farre greater number; and those he diuides into foure parts of the Realme;

making his progresse yearely, with part of his mighty Nauy, round about the whole Isle, whereof he assumed the title of King.

And to reduce it to one name and Monarchie, hee was intituled King of all *Albion*, as testifies his Charter granted to the Abbey of *Maldesmesbury*, in these words: *Ego Edgarus totius Albionis Basilius, nec non Maritimorum, seu insulanorum Regum circùm habitantium, &c.* For hee hauing first of all other made peace with the *Danes*, and granted them quiet co-habitation through all his Dominions; had the Soueraignty ouer them: And *Kenneth*, King of *Scots* did him homage, whether for *Cumberland* and *Westmerland*, giuen to that Crowne by King *Edmond* his father; or for his whole kingdome; I cannot say. And fiue Kings of *Wales* did the like for their Country, and came all to his Court at *Cardiffe*.

He raigned 16 yeares.—Saint *Edward*.—Anno 975.—So that hee seemes the first, and most absolute Monarch of this Land, that hitherto wee finde: The generall peace that held all his time, honoured his name with the Title of *Pacificus*; and rendred his Kingdome (neuer before acquainted with the glory of quietnesse) very flourishing. But as if the same had beene giuen to shewe, and not to vse (like a short calme betwixt stormes) it lasted but little beyond his raigne of sixteene yeares: being too short to close the disseuered ioynts of a commixed kingdome; which was onely, to haue beene the worke of Time; and that none of these late Princes (who were best like to haue aduanced, and confirmed the State of a Monarchie) were ordayned to haue. But all (as if things would another way) were put off from their ends, by their vntimely deaths: as was this glorious young Prince, in the two and thirtieth yeare of his age: leauing his sonne *Edward*, a childe, to vndergo the miseries of non-age, to bee made a sacrifice for ambition, and a Saint by persecution, through the hand of a step-mother; who to aduance her owne son *Ethelred*, brake in ouer the bounds of Nature and right, to

make his way; and is sayd, her selfe to haue murthered him, comming to her house, estrayed, in hunting, and discompanied, in the Isle of *Purbecke*.

Ethelred.

Anno 978.—Two conquests of this kingdome in fifty yeares.

BVT *Ethelred*, as if ill set, prospered not on this ground, the entrance to whose raigne was blood, the middle, misery; and the end, confusion. They write, Saint *Dunstan* Preaching at his Coronation, prophetically (fore-told him) of the calamities would follow this transgression: Saying: *For that thou hast aspired to the Crowne, by the death of thy brother, murthered by thy mother: Thus sayth the Lord: The sword shall neuer depart from thy house, raging against thee all the dayes of thy life, slaying those of thy seed, till the Kingdome be transferred to another, whose fashion and language, the people shall not know. Nor shall thy sinne, nor the sinne of thy ignominious mother, with her Counsellors, be expiated, but by long auengement.* And this (whether so vttered or not) was ratified in the euent. For eyther this vniust disordering the succession or the concurrency of hidden causes meeting with it, so wrought, as this late begunne Monarchy fell quite asunder, and begat the occasion of two Conquests, by Forraine Nations, within the space of fifty yeares.

The spoyles made by the *Danes*.—The originall of *Dane* gelt, the first imposition layd vpon the Kingdome.—For the *Danes*, hauing now beene so long inmates with the English, dis-spread ouer all parts by intermatching with them, and multiplying with the late peace and Confederations, had their party (though not their rule) greater then euer: so that this oportunitie of a young and vnsetled Prince, in a new and brangling State, drewe ouer such multitudes of other of the same Nation, as euery Coast and Part of the Land, were

miserably made the open rodes of spoyle and sackage: in such sort, as the State knew not where to make any certaine head against them: For if encountred in one place, they assailed another, and had so sure intelligence what, and where all preparations were raised, as nothing could be effected auaylable to quaile them: Whereupon *Ethelred*, in the end, was faine, seeing he could not preuaile with the sword, to assayle them with mony, and bought a peace for 10000. pounds: which God wot, proued after, a very deare peny-worth to the common-wealth, shewing the seller thereof, how much was in his power, and the buyer, at how hard a rate his necessity was to be serued; & yet not sure of his bargaine, longer then the Contractor would. Who hauing found the benifit of this / market, raised the price thereof almost euery year. And yet had not *Ethelred* what he paide for: the Land in one part or other, neuer free from spoyle and inuasion; but rather the more now opprest, both by the warre, and this taxation. Which was the first we finde in our Annales, laide vpon the Kingdome (and with heauy grieuance raysed in a poore distressed State) continuing many ages after the occasion was extinct: And in the end (though in another name) became the vsuall supplyment, in the dangers of the Kingdome, and the occasions of Princes.

And hereby *Ethelred* both inlarged the meanes, and desire of the enemy, so that at length, came *Swain*, King of *Denmarke* and *Anlafe*, King of *Norway*, in person, as if likewise to receiue hire for committing outrage; and were both returned with great sums, and *Anlafe* of a milder disposition, with baptisme. These callamities from abroad, were made more, by the disloyalties at home, faith and respect (beeing seldome found safe in lost fortunes) held not in most of the principall men imployed in the defence. *Aelfricke*, Admirall of the Nauy, is sayd to haue giuen intelligence of all Sea-preparations, and disappoynted that worke. The Earles *Fran*, *Frithigift*, *Godwin*, and *Turkettle* discended of *Danike*

progeny, and of greatest commaund, deceiued the armies by Land, and were the authors of discouragement to the people they led. *Edric* Earle of *Marc-land*, after them made Generall of the Kings forces, is branded with euerlasting ignominy, and the title of *False*, for his barbarous disloyalty, frustrating all attempts wherein he was imployed.

Wolnod a Nobleman, for his misdemeanour outlawd, made depredations on the coasts with twenty ships, and was the cause that fourescore men sent to take him in, were vtterly consumed. This defection of his Nobility, howsoeuer it might bee by their owne discontent, emulation, corruption, or affection: is layde to the pride of *Ethelred*, whom yet we finde more vnfortunate then weake, howsoeuer they haue set his marke, and neglected no occasion to make resistance and preparations against all euents, bringing often his affaires to the very point of dispatch, and yet put by, at an instant from all, as if nothing went with him, but his will to do worthely: which howsoeuer it were, (besides the misery to loose) hee must haue (that which accompanies infelicity) *Blame*, and *Reproach*. Though the many and desperate battailes he made and good constitutions for the gouernment; the prouisions to supply all important occasions, shew, that hee was not much behinde the best Princes, but onely in fortune.

By the example of *Edgar* his Father, hee procured a mighty Nauie; causing of euery three hundred and ten Hide, or Plough-land throughout the Kingdome, a Shippe to bee built, and of euery eight, a Corslet to be found: Yet all this shipping stood him in little stead, but was either quasht with tempest, consumed with fire by the enemy, or otherwise made vnusefull by neglect, or ignorance: whereby the hope and infinite charge of the State were disappoynted. Famine and mortality, the attendants of warre, with strange inundations, wrought likewise their part, as if conspirators of destruction, all concurred to make a dismall season.

Many yeares it was not, ere *Swaine* King of *Danes*, returned

to raise againe new summes, by new afflictions; and tormenting heere this poore turmoyled people, more then euer, receiues a fee for bloodshed, to the summe of 48000. pounds, granted in the generall assembly of the States at *London*; and a peace, or rather paction of seruitude concluded; with quiet cohabitation, vse of like liberties, and a perfect vnion betweene the two Nations, confirmed by oathes of either part, and hostages deliuered of ours.

But this as a breathing time, scarce held out the yeare: When the occasion of greater mischiefes was giuen by a vniuersall massacre of the *Danes* suddenly heere contriued: and effected by the Kings commandement, vpon the suggestion of *Hune*, a great Commaunder, and a violent warrier of that time: Vrging the insolencie of the *Danes*, that now growne haughty with this peace, committed many outrages, violating the Wiues and Daughters of Great men, with many other intollerable disorders. /

The massacre of the *Danes*, Anno 1002.—Gunild slaine.—Such, and so suddaine was the generall execution of this act, throughout all parts of the kingdome at one instant, as shewed the concurrency of an inveterate rankor, and incompatibility of these two nations, impossible to be conioyned, So that neither Temples, Altars, Supplications, nor any band of aliance, were auaileable to saue them from slaughter. Wherein to insence the more their King, *Gunild*, his sister, a woman of masculine courage, who had a little before receiued Christendom, a mediator and pledge of the peace, hauing first her husband and son slaine in her sight, rather with a threatning, then appaled countenance, met her death making imprecation for reuenge, and foretelling her blood would, as it did, cost *England* deere.

Swaine wins *England.—Ethelred* flies into *Normandy.*—*Swaines* death.—Soone was the notice of this enormious act, giuen to *Swaine*, and as soone armed with rage and power, reentered hee the Kingdome, hauing now a fairer shew to doe

fowlie, then euer: wrong had made him a right, who had none before: and the people of the Land, not so forward to maintaine their acts, as commit it, rather were content to giue him the possesion of their country, then that he should win it: the greatest part of the Kingdome submitting themselues vnto him; onely the City of *London*, which *Ethelred* held fortified, made noble resistance till he left them; and conueyed himselfe first into the Isle of *Wight*, and after into *Normandy*, whither he had sent *Emma* his Queene, with her two sonnes, *Alfrid* and *Edward*, before, from the rage of this tempest. But within two moneths he was recalled home by the people of *England*, vpon the death of *Swaine*, who at the point to haue beene crowned King, and had generally taken hostages and oathes of fealty, died suddenly: leauing his sonne *Knute* to succeed his fortunes, and accomplish what he intended.

Ethelred returnes.—*Knute* returnes.—*Ethelreds* death.—*Ethelred* returning, was soone furnisht with an Army, sets vppon *Knute* in *Lindsey*; where hee lay with his Fathers shipping, and Hostages, and draue him to take the seas: wherewith inraged, making about to *Sandwich*, hee miserably mangled, and dismembred those hostages, and so sent them home: himselfe, with the spoyles his Father and hee had gotten, returned to his countery, to make greater preparations for the prosecution of his purpose. *Ethelred* in the meane time, to increase the summe of reuengement, with more wrath, at a generall assembly at *Oxford*, caused many of the *Danique* Nobility to be murthered: Among which were *Sigifrith*, and *Morchar*, Earles of *Northumberland*, whom the false *Edric* (who had a hand one each side for mischiefe) inuiting to his lodging, vnder pretence of feasting, barberously caused to be slayne: their followers, after they had so long as they could desperately defended themselues and their maisters, fled into a Church, where they were with the same burnt. *Knute*, armed with the greatest of his owne and neighbours powers made

his confederates, landed againe, within the yeare, at *Sandwich*, and without resistance, had all the West parts rendred vnto him, with pledges for their obedience, and furnishment with horse and armor. Here the false *Edric* leaues his Liege-lord, and yeelds vp forty shipps and his periured Faith to *Knute*. *Ethelred*, languishing in minde and body, *Edmond* his son, surnamed *Ironside* (to oppose youth to youth) was imployed against this rabious inuador. A Prince worthy of a better time, and had hee found Faith, had made it so, and deliuered his Country at that turne, from the worst of miseries, the conquest by strangers.

Knute. *Edmond Ironside.*

Edmond Ieronside sonne to *Ethelred*, by his first wife *Ethelgina*. Anno 1016.

BVT now vpon the death of *Ethelred* (whose 37. yeares reigne, shewes that infelicity shall haue time too much, and happinesse too little), *Knute* was by most of the Clergy and Nobility there about, made election of *Edmond*, and furnished him with that power, as thereby, with the courageous ardour of his youth (which commonly is most in the first attempts) he had the better in three imminent battels, within three moneths, and had likewise obtained the Fourth at *Essendon* (likely to haue beene the last with the *Danes*) but that the disloyall *Edric* (late renouncing his new Lord, seeing *Edmonds* part in possibilitie to preuaile) againe betrayed his truth, and withdrew himselfe and the charge he had, to the enemy. This fatal battell lost *England*: heere perished the best flower of honour it then had: Heere amongst the rest was slaine, *Vlkil*, an Earle of *Essex*, of euer memorable worth, who had long stood vp for the Kingdome, and in the time of *Swaine*, was the first that shewed there was hope and possibility to quaile the enemy, had there bin an vnion in loyalty.

Edmonds single combate with *Knute.*—Peace concluded.—*England* deuided betweene them.—The death of King *Edmond Ironside* at Oxford.—From this bloudy worke, *Edmond* escapes to *Glocester*, to recollect new forces; nor was hee so forsoken with this Fortune, but that hee soone recouered another army, to re-assaile the enemy, that might bee idle vppon this victorie. But *Knute* as prouident in the prosecution of his businesse, as fortunate therein, makes after: Heere when both Armies weere at the poynt to incounter, a motion of peace was propounded: Some say the two Kings, by single combat consented to decide their fortunes, and the ouer-commer to take all: and that (in an Isle of the Riuer *Seuern*, their Armies, on either shore, spectators of the act) they tried the maistery for the prize of a Kingdome. After long and equall fight, finding each others worth, they cast away their weapons, imbraced, and concluded the peace. But howsoeuer; it seemes (both sides tyred with the misery of a consuming warre, neuer like to be ended, but by the vtter extirpation of the one, and considering the danger of the either, and incertainty of the future) weere easily perswaded to imbrace a present agreement which was made, by parting *England* betwixt them two, and confirmed by Oath and Sacrament: putting on each others Apparell, and Armes, as a ceremony to expresse the attonement of their mindes, as if they made trans-action of their persons each to the other. *Knute* became *Edmond*, and *Edmond*, *Knute*. A fatall exchange, for so free and magnanimous a Prince as *Edmond*: who indeed, was now no more himselfe; and being but halfe a King, was in so few dayes after, none: as makes this peace shew fouler then warre: for that armed him for life, this exposed him naked to death, which was shortly after treacherously given him at *Oxford*; some say, by the son of *Edric* (as if to shew hee would bee the heire of his father also in Treason) whereby both the hope, and the other halfe of *England* were vtterly lost, as determinable with his reigne; which (with all we haue else of his magnanimous actions) took vp scarce the

circuit of one whole yeare: And yet had that bene space enough for glorie (whose measure is to be taken rather by the profundity, then the length, which seldome holds long and euen) could he haue had that cleere: And better for his renowne, to haue died at the battaile of *Essendon* with *England*, then condescended to haue made it halfe *Denmarke*, and liue.

Knute.

A. 1018. *Knute* the first *Danique* King.—83000 pounds paide to King *Knute* for euacuation of Strangers.

BVT by this meanes, *Knute* attained the absolute dominion of the whole Kingdome, which hee gouerned with better Iustice then hee got it, conforming his natiue roughnesse, to a more ciuill, and regular fashion of life: And to haue *England* see, that now he was hers; he sends away his Nauie, and stipendary souldiers home to their countries, and puts himselfe wholly vpon this people; taking the way of mildnesse a better meanes for his establishment, then force: but the Land paid for the remuneration of his people, and this euacuation of Strangers 83000 pounds of siluer; which it rather consented to doe at once, then to haue them a daily burthen, to pester the State for euer.

Edward married to *Agatha* the Queene of *Hungaries* sister. —At his first comming to the Crowne, he sought to rid himselfe, as well of his friends, as of those might prooue his enemies. *Edric*, who came first to salute him sole King of *England* (as if to tell, that he made him so) hee caused his head to be set on the highest part of the Tower of *London*; therein performing his promise, of aduancing him aboue any Lord of the Land, and thereby discharged himselfe of such a debt; which, though he should haue paide, would neuer yet bee held fully cleered; giuing a generall satisfaction thereby to the people, they reioyced to see Treason so iustly rewarded.

Like compensation had shortly after, the Earles *Turkill*, and *Erick* who being banished the Land, were executed vpon their arriuall in *Denmarke*. But the loue, and high opinion of Iustice he got in these, were lost againe in those actions, wherein hee tooke counsell onely / of his feares, for the extirpation of all those of the Royall blood of *England*; As of *Edwin*, and *Edward* the sonnes of the late King *Edmond* (to whom appertayned the moietie of the Kingdome by contract) and of *Edwin* his brother, which three, he sent to be murthered abroad, to beguile the rumore at home: But which is strange; those times, though rough, affoorded not yet an instrument for the execution of his desire: and all these Princes were preserued, and conueyed out of danger by those, who should haue made them away. The two last were bred by *Salomon*, King of *Hungarie*, where *Edward* (suruiuing his brother) marryed *Agatha* sister to the Queene (and daughter to the Emperour *Henry* the second) by whom he had two sons, *Edmond*, and *Edgar*; daughters, *Margaret* and *Christian*.

His erection of Churches and of Church gouernment.— *Alfred*, and *Edward*, sonnes of King *Ethelred*, by *Emme*, were preserued by *Richard*, Duke of *Normandy* their Vncle, and so lay out of his way. This priuate iniustice (which often may be more in compassion, then hurt to the State) he sought to recompence with all publique satisfactions, repairing the naufrage of the common wealth (made by the rage of warre) both in ornament and order: erecting Churches and Monasteries with large pattents of prouisions; both for the expiation of his immanities fore-committed, and to memorize the places of his victories with his thankefulnesse to God. The Constitutions Ecclesiasticall and Ciuile, divulged in the Language of that time, testifie his tender piety, and care of Iustice: and are so full of religious admonitions, as it seemes he held, the best meanes to haue lawes obserued, was, by hauing them first inacted in the consciences of men. Amongst others, hee inflicted exact punishment on all intemperances of

his people, and offences committed against publique manners. Seuere hee was, but not cruell: few of his lawes sanguinary, as beeing not the custome of the time, which though rough, yet found meanes to maintaine publique manners, without that luctuall remedy of bloud. No punishments cappitall, vnlesse conspiracies; the rest were all pecuniary mulcts, banishments, bondage or imprisonment. To shew his clemency, this (amongst many) is one example: there was a law, that, *Whosoeuer had committed theft; and the goodes found in his house, all his familie were made bond, euen to the childe in the cradle:* This he abrogates, as most vniust, and ordaines, *That onely the malefactor, and such as should aide him, should indure the punishment; and that the wife (vnlesse the things stolne were found vnder her locke) should not be guilty of her husbands offence.*

Thus was hee to his people, with whom, hee is saide to haue soe well cleared himselfe (howsoeuer he did with God) that he became King of their affections, as well as of their Countery. And to maintaine this opinion, he did many popular acts: as first of all Rites of Honour and reuerence to the memory of the late King *Edmond*, his confederate: besides the executing of all such as could be found to haue had any hand in that murther. Then married he here at home, *Emme*, late wife to King *Ethelred* (though it were more for his honour then hers, to accept his bed, that had bin the persecutor of her husband and children) whereby hee held the Duke of *Normandy*, from attempting any thing for his Nephewes, in regard, his sister might haue other by him.

Knute King of *England*, *Denmarke*, and *Norway*.—Hauing thus established this mighty Kingdome, occasion prepares him another. The people of *Norway*, contemning the debilitie of their King, and conspiring to depose him, grew into faction: whereuppon hee fastens; and with the great forces hee brought out of *England*, the might of mony, and high estimation of his worthines, so preuailed, as he soone obtained that Kingdome,

and was now the most renouned and potent Prince in all these parts of the world: intitled, King of *England*, *Denmarke*, and *Norway*.

Here withall grew his magnificence, as wide as his power, and was especially extended to the Church, which hee laboured most to gratifie, either for the conscience of his deedes, or that his people, (generally addicted to deuotion) might be made the more his. And holding it not enough to poure out his immense bountie heere within the land, seekes to make *Rome* also feele the fulnesse thereof, whither hee went in person, and performed many workes of charitie and honour; both there, and in all his voyage. Hee freed the *Saxon* schoole, his predecessors of *England* had founded, from all imposition: as he did likewise all straights and passages, where trauailers were with rigor constrayned to pay toll.

Of his entertaynment at *Rome* with the Pope, *Conrado* the Emperour, and diuerse other Princes of the Christian world, himselfe writes to the Bishops and Nobility of *England*, and withall exhorts them very powerfully to haue an especiall regard to the due administration of Iustice, to all his subiects alike, without doing the least wrong for his gaine, hauing no neede to aduance his reuenue by sinne: And also charges them to see all *Churchscot* and *Ramescot* fully cleared before his returne.

Knute the most absolute Monarch of this Kingdome, of any that was before him.—The actiue vertue of this Prince, beeing the mightiest, and most absolute Monarch that euer yet appeared in this Kingdome, the author of sect, and first of a new Gouernement, is such; as shewes he striues by all worthy wayes, to lay the ground-worke of a State; which according to his frame, was liker to hold good to his posterity, then not. And as likely was he, to haue beene the roote of a succession, spreading into many descents, as was afterward the *Norman*, hauing as plentifull an issue masculine, as he: besides, he raigned neere as long; farre better beloued; of

disposition more bountifull, and of power, larger to do good. But it was not in his fate; his children miscarried in the succession, and all this great worke fell in a manner with himselfe.

Harold.

Anno 1038.—*Harold's* cruelty.

HArold, the eldest sonne of *Knute* (some write by his fathers ordinance, others by the election of the *Danique* Nobility, in an assembly at *Oxford*) was made King: whereas *Godwin* Earle of *Kent*, and the Nobility of *England*, would haue chosen *Hardiknute*, borne of Queene *Emme*, or else *Alfred*, the sonne of *Ethelred*, who is sayd to haue come out of *Normandy*, vpon the death of *Knute*, to claime the Crowne; But *Harold*, being at hand carried it; The first act of whose reigne, was the banishment, and surprizing all the treasure of his step-mother Queene *Emme*; Then the putting out the eyes of *Alfred* her sonne, his competitor: and committing him to a loathsome prison, where hee died. For which deede, the Earle *Godwin* beares a foule marke, as betraying him. Queene *Emme* repaires to *Baldouin*, Earle of *Flanders*, her kinsman, where she remained during the reigne of *Harold*, which was but of foure yeares, and then with her sonne *Hardiknute* (who came out of *Denmarke*, as it seemes prepared for some thing else, then to visit her at *Bridges*) returned into *England*.

Hardiknute.

Anno 1041.

HIs *Hardiknute* inuested in the Gouernment, soone frustrated the hope and opinion fore-conceiued of him, and first in like sort beganne with that degenerous act of reuenge (wherein none are sayd so much to delight in, as women) causing the body of the late

king to bee vntomb'd, the head cut off, and throwne into the Thames; Then makes inquisition for such as were guilty of the death of *Alfride*, his brother by the mother, whereof Earle *Godwin* and the Bishop of *Worcester* are accused; The Bishop is dispossest his Sea, and the Earle with a rich and rare deuised present, in forme of a Ship of gold, appeased that furie, making protestation of his innocency before the whole Nobilitie, with whom in respect his deepe roote had spread so many branches, he stood firme, and all the blame was layd to the violence and rankor of the late King.

Besides the offending these great men, hee added a generall grieuance to the whole Kingdome, by a prodigall largesse, giuing to euery Marriner of his Nauy eight Markes, and to euery Maister tenne, which hee imposed to bee payde by the State. But after hauing called home *Edward* his other halfe brother, out of *Normandy*, hee liued not long, for farther violences; Dying suddenly the second yeare of his reigne, in the celebration of a marriage at *Lambeth* in his greatest iolity, not without suspition of poyson.

The reason of the extinction of the *Danes* in England (Anno 1042).—And with him ended the Gouernment of the *Danes* in *England* (having onely continued 26. yeeres vnder these three last Kings) and that without any cracke or noyse, by reason the nation had no predominant side, that might sway the State, in respect of the remission of their power home in the first yeere of *Knute*, and no great admission of others after: and that such, as were here before, were now so incorporated with the *English*, as they made one body: and most of them planted in the remote parts of the Kingdome, that lay ouer against *Denmarke*: whereby, that which with all the strugling, no power or diligence of man could resist, expired of it selfe: leauing *England* to a King of her owne, and *Denmarke* to ciuill discord about the succession; *Norway* likewise returning obedience to a son of *Olaue*, recouered quietnesse, and a home-borne King.

Edward the Confessor.

Edward the Confessor (*Anno* 1042).—His continency.

EDWARD (the son of *Ethelred*) is sent for into *Normandy*, and by the whole State elected, and crowned King of *England*, at *Winchester*, by *Edsine* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Anno* 1042. being about forty yeares of age. *Godwin* Earle of *Kent*, was a principall agent in his preferment, but, for his owne ends. The Kingdome (as hauing dearely paide for the admission of strangers) ordained, that he should not bring any *Normans* with him. The first Act he did, was the remission of the *Danegilt*, imposed by his Father, which amounted to forty thousand pounds yearely, and had beene payd for forty yeeres past. Hee caused the Lawes to bee collected, out of those of the *Mercians*, West *Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Northumbrians*, and to be written in Latine. He was a Prince most highly renowmed for his piety; and fit for no other, then the calme time he had. For hauing beene so long brought vp with the Nunnes at *Iumieges* in *Normandy*, he scarce knew to be a man, when he came into *England*. And to shew how little he vnderstood himselfe; they note, how in a great anger, he sayd to a base fellow, that disturbed his game in hunting, *I would punish thee, were I able.* And as if he had vowed their continency, with whom hee was bred, hee was so far from knowing other women (either through conscience or debility) as his owne wife after his death, protested her selfe free from any carnall act done by him, and yet liued he (for the most part) with her in all formall shew of marriage.

Earle *Godwins* greatnesse.—The Earles *Syward* and *Leofrike*, men of noble actions.—The soft simplicity of this King, gaue way to the greatnesse of the Earle *Godwin*, and his children, who for that hee would seeme the especiall man in his preferment to the Crowne; and by matching his daughter *Edith*

to him, swayed chiefly the wheele of that time: and yet not without opposition: For *Syward*, Earle of *Northumberland*, and *Leofrike*, Earle of *Hereford* (men of as great State and spirit), seeing him most for himselfe, became more for the King, and had their turne in performing very noble actions. Nor did their emulation, but much conduce to the present benefit both of the King, and State; For the Earle *Syward* would not be behind hand, in effecting as braue deedes in the North, as *Harold*, Earle of *Westsexe*, the son of the Earle *Godwin*, performed against the *Welch*, in the West: For the first depriued of life and Crowne, *Macbeth*, an vsurper, and inuested *Malcolm*, in the Kingdome of *Scotland*; the other defeited *Ris*, and *Griffine*, two brothers, Kings of *Wales*, and subdued that Prouince to this Crowne.

Eustace Earle of *Bullogne* maried *Goda* the Kings sister.—Besides, the Earle *Godwin* had to struggle with an Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Robert* a *Norman*, preferred from a Monke, first to *London*, and after to that Sea, by the King, inwardly affecting most that nation, as being part of their bloud, and bred amongst them. Of whom it seemed (notwithstanding the former order taken to the contrary) he had many about his person, whose neerenesse, being strangers, whatsoeuer they did, could not auoyd to be thought to doe all offices against the Earle, and the *English* in general: whereby, what went not right in the line of mens desires, was thought to be their cause. And in stomackes full charged, this occasion gaue more fire. *Eustace* Earle of *Bullogne*, who had married *Goda* the Kings sister, hauing beene at the Court, and returning into *France*, his Harbenger in taking vp lodgings at *Douer*, vpon his peremptory behauiour, was by a Citizen slaine; The Earle arriuing with all his traine, pursues, and slue the homicide, with 18. other. The City seeing this, tooke armes, and in the bickering, the Earle lost 22. of his men: whereupon, backe he hastes to the King, aggrauates the insolency of the Citizens so farre; that the Earle *Godwin* is

sent for, and commanded with a power of men, to make against the City of *Douer*, to chastice the people. The Earle (considering it was vpon the information of one side) aduised the King rather to send for the chiefe of the City, to understand what they could say for themselues, and accordingly to proceed; which (being taken for a coldnesse in the businesse, and of fauour to his Countrymen) gaue the King and his enemies occasion to suspect his affection.

Earle *Godwins* insurrection.—The *French* forsake the Court, and Kingdome of *England*.—Shortly after, the Earle is summoned to an Assembly at *Glocester*, where neither hee, nor any of his sons would appeare; and suspecting some practise against him by his enemies, raises forces, pretending to suppresse the *Welch*, who were not found to offend; whereupon the Assembly remoues to *London*, summons him againe to make his appearance, to dismisse his forces, and to come onely attended with twelue persons. Hee sends them word; to dismisse his forces hee was content, or any thing else the King would command him, so it were with the safety of his life and honour; but to come disaccompanied, was for neither. Then was hee commanded within fiue dayes to depart the Realme, which he did, and with *Toustaine*, and *Swayne* his sons, gets him into *Flanders*, where *Toustaine* married the daughter of the Earle *Baldouin* the 5. *Harald* his eldest son, departs into *Ireland*: the King puts from him the Queene, to bee partaker of the disgrace, and misery of her house; who is described (by the writers of those times) to haue beene a Lady of rare parts, excellently learned, beautifull, and as faire of minde as body. The Earle *Godwin* in this desperate fortune (whilst the *French* and his enemies possest the King) fell to Piracy, disturbed the coasts, approached *London*, by the Riuer; and being so popular, as no forces would oppose against him, made at length his own peace with power; in such sort, as the *French* fearing reuenge, forsooke both the Court, and Kingdome.

· Thus (as fore-pointing to a storme that was gathering on that coast) began the first difference with the *French* nation: which, thus acquainted with the distraction of the Kingdome, and factions of great men, wrought on those aduantages, and were instruments to draw on the fatall enterprize that followed.

The weakenesse of the King, and the disproportionate greatnesse of the Earle *Godwin*, being risen vp from so great a fall (learning thereby, to looke better to his feete, and make his sides strong) increased these discontentments, and partialities in the State; wherein many acts of iniustice, by the sway of power and passion were committed; which did much blacken that time of peace, and made a good man (not by doing, but enduring ill) held to be a bad King.

Queen *Emmes* affliction and triall.—And it is said, that *Emme*, the Queene-mother, had her part of much affliction in his reigne, suffering both in her goods and fame: and now to purge her selfe of a scandall raised on her with *Alwyn* Bishop of *Winchester*, she vnder-went the triall of *Fire-Ordeall* (which was to passe blind-fold, with bare feete, ouer certaine plough-share, made red hote, and layd an vneuen distance one before the other) which she safely performed. And the reason why, both her son and the State so little respected this great Lady, whose many yeares had made her an actor in diuers fortunes, was, for that she neuer affected King *Ethelred*, nor the children she had by him: and for her marriage with *Knute*, the great enemy and subduer of the Kingdome, whom she euer much more loued liuing, and commended dead.

King *Edward* founder of *Westminster* Church.—It seemed these priuate grudges, with mens particular ends, held these times so busied, that the publike was neglected, and an issue-lesse King, gaue matter for ambition and power, to build hopes and practises vpon; though for his owne part, he shewed to haue had a care for the succession, in sending for

his Nephew *Edward*, intitled the Outlaw, with his children, out of *Hungary*. But *Edward*, shortly after his arriuall, died, and *Edgar* his son (surnamed *Atheling*, to say Prince *Edgar*) whom hee had by his wife *Agatha*, daughter of the Emperor *Henry* the 2. who (either by reason of his youth, which yet was no barre to his right, or being borne and bred a stranger, little / knowing, or knowne to the Kingdome) had his claime neglected vpon the death of this *Pious* King. Which was *Anno* 1065. when he had reigned 24. yeares. His corps was interred in the Church of *Westminster*, which he had newly founded.

Harald the second.

Harald the second (Anno 1065).

ND *Harald*, son to Earle *Godwin* (the next day after) was preferred to the Crowne, whether by any title hee might pretend from the *Danique* Kings, as descended from that Nation (and, as some report, son to *Githa* sister to *Swaine*,) or by meere election of the greater part of the Nobility, wee cannot say: but it seemes, the pressing necessity of the time, that required a more man, to vndergo the burthen of warre, and that trouble, the world was like to fall into, by reason of the claimes now made, both by the *Dane*, and *Norman*, cast it suddainly vpon him; as the most eminent man of the Kingdome, both by the experience of his owne deseruings, and the strength also of his owne, and the alliance of his wife *Algith*, sister of *Edwin* and *Morckar*, Earles of *Yorkeshire* and *Chester*. Neither did hee faile (but in fortune) to make good this election; taking all the best courses, both for the well ordering of the State, and all prouisions for defence, that a politicke and actiue Prince could doe. But being to deale in a broken world, where the affections of men were all disioynted, or dasht with the terror of an approaching mischiefe, failing (as vsually is seene in these

publique feares) both in their diligence, and courage to withstand it, soone found more then enough to doe.

The Kings brother *Toustaine* banished.—His death with the King of *Norway*.—And the first man, which began to disturbe his new gouernment, was his owne yonger brother *Toustaine*, who (in the time of the late King *Edward*, hauing the gouernment of *Northumberland*) was for his pride and immanities shewed in those parts, banished the Kingdome; and now by reason of his former conceiued hatred against his brother, easily set on by the Duke of *Normandy*, and *Aldouin Baldouin*, Earle of *Flanders*, (whose two daughters the Duke and he had married) assailes first the Isle of *Wight*, and after sets vpon the coast of *Kent*, whence he was chased by the power of *Harald*, and forced to withdraw into the North parts; and there seeking to land, was likewise repulsed, by the Earles *Morchar* and *Edwin*. Then craues he aid of the *Scots*, and after of *Harald*, surnamed *Harfager*, King of *Norway*, being then taking in the Orcades and exercising piracy in those parts; whom he induced with all his forces to inuade *England*. And landing at *Tinmouth* (discomfeiting their first incounters) they marched into the heart of the Kingdome without resistance. Neere *Stamford*, King *Harald* of *England* met them with a puissant Army; and after long and eager fight, ended the day with victory, and the death of his brother *Toustaine*, and the King of *Norway*.

The Battaile was fought in *Sussex*, 7. miles from *Hastings*, vpon Saterday the 14. of October, 1066.—The Kings valor and death.—But from hence was hee called with his wearied and broken forces, to a more fatall businesse in the South. For now *William* Duke of *Normandy* (pretending a right to the Crowne of England, by the Testament of the late King *Edward* his Kinsman; (vpon the aduantage of a busie time, and the dis furnishment of those parts) landed at *Pemsey*, not farre from *Hastings* in *Sussex*: neere to which place, was tried by the great Assize of God's iudgement in battell (the right of power)

betweene the *English* and *Norman* Nation. A battell (the most memorable of all other) and howsoeuer miserably lost, yet most nobly fought on the part of *England*; and the many wounds of *Harald* there slaine, with 60. thousand 9 hundred 74. of *English*, shew, how much was wrought to haue saued their Country from the calamity of forraine seruitude.

And yet, how so great a Kingdome as *England* then was, could with one blow bee subdued by so small a Prouince as *Normandy* (in such sort, as it could neuer after come to make any generall head against the Conquerour) might seeme strange; did not the circumstances aforenoted, and other concurrent causes, hereafter to bee declared, giue vs faire and probable reasons thereof: Besides, the indisposition of a diseased time, as it is described by such as liued neerest it (*William Malmsbury*), may giue vs great euidence in this examination. For they say, the people of this Kingdome, were (by their beeing secure from their former enemy the *Dane*, and their long peace; which had held, in a manner, from / the death of King *Edmond Ironside*, almost fifty yeeres;) grown neglectiue of Armes, and generally debaushed with luxurie and idlenesse: the Clergie licentious, and onely content with a tumultuarie learning: The Nobility giuen to Gluttony, Venery, and Oppression: The common sort to Drunkennesse, and all disorder: And they say, that in the last action of *Harald* at *Stamford*, the brauest men perished, and himselfe growing insolent vpon the victory (retaining the spoyles, without distribution to his souldiers, not invred to be commanded by martiall discipline) made them discontent, and vnruly: and comming to this battell with many mercinary men, and a discontented Army, gaue great occasion to the lamentable losse thereof.

Besides, the *Normans* had a peculiar fight with long bowes, wherewith the *English* (then altogether vnacquainted) were especially ouerthrowne. And yet their owne Writers report, how the maine Battalion of the *English* (consisting of Bils, their chiefe and ancient weapon) held in a body so close lockt

together, as no force could dissolue them; till the *Normans* (faining to flie) drew them to a disordered rout. And so they excuse the fortune of the day.

King *Harold* buried at *Waltham.*—His issue.—The body of King *Harold*, which at the sute of his mother (who sent two Monkes of the Abbey of *Waltham* to entreate the same of the Conqueror) was after much search, amongst the heapes of the dead found, and interred, in the same Abbey, which himselfe had founded. Hee was a King, who shewes vs nothing but miserie, reigned least, and lost most of any other. He left foure sons, *Godwin*, *Edmond*, *Magnus*, and *Wolfe*: the two eldest fled away after this battaile into *Ireland*, and from thence made some attempts vpon the Westerne coasts of *England*, but to little effect. And here ended the line of the *Saxon* Kings, about fiue hundred yeeres after the first comming in of *Hengist*, and their plantation in this Kingdome.

And thus haue I in the straightest course (wherein that vneuen compasse of Antiquity could direct me) got ouer the wide, and intricate passage of those times that lay beyond the worke, I purpose more particularly to deliuer. And now,

The Life and Reigne of William the first.

Anno 1066.—*Englands* territories ouershootes the Ocean.

Come to write of a time, wherein the State of *England* receiued an alteration of Lawes, Customes, Fashion, manner of liuing, Language, writing, with new formes of Fights, Fortifications, Buildings, and generally an innouation in most things, but Religion: So that from this mutation, which was the greatest it euer had, wee are to begin with a new account of an *England*, more in dominion abroad, more in State, and

ability at home, and of more honour and name in the world, then heretofore: which by beeing thus vndone, was made, as if it were in the Fate thereof, to get more by losing, then otherwise. For as first, the Conquest of the *Danes*, brought it to the entirest Gouernment it euer possest at home, and made it most redoubted of all the Kingdomes of the North: so did this of the *Norman* by comming in vpon it, make a way to let out, and stretch the mighty armes thereof ouer the Seas, into the goodly Prouinces of the South: For before these times, the *English* nation, from the first establishment in this Land, about the space of 500. yeares, neuer made any sally out of the Isle, vpon any other part of the world, but busied at home in a diuided State, held a broken Gouernment with the *Danes*, and of no great regard, it seemes, with other Nations, till *Knute* led them forth into the Kingdome of *Norway*, where they first shewed effects of their valour, and what they would be, were they imployed.

But the *Normans*, hauing more of the Sun, and ciuility (by their commixtion with the *English*) begat smoother fashions, with quicker motions in them then before. And being a Nation free from that dull disease of drinke, wherewith their former Conquerors were naturally infected, induced a more comely temperance, with a neerer regard of reputation and honour. For where as before, the *English* lived loose, in little homely Cottages, where they spent all their reuenues in good fare, caring for little other gaiety at all. Now after the *Norman* manner, they build them goodly Churches, and stately houses of stone, prouide better furnishments, erect Castles, and Towers in other sort then before. They inclose Parkes for their priuate pleasure; being debard the generall liberty of hunting, which heeretofore they enioyed: whereupon all the termes of building, hunting, tooles of workemen, names of most handy-crafts appertaining to the defences and adornments of life, came all to bee in *French*. And withall, the *Norman* habits, and fashion of liuing, became generally

assumed, both in regard of nouelty, and to take away the note of difference, which could not be well lookt on, in that change.[1]

The *Saxons* habit, and Characters first altered.—The Originall of the *Normans Roul*, or *Rou*, the first *Norman* that landed in *England*.—The History of *Normand*.—*Roul*, the first Conqueror of *Normandy* frõ the *French*, calling it *Norman*.—And though the body of our language remained in the *Saxon*, yet it came so altered in the habite of the *French* tongue, as now we hardly know it, in the ancient forme it had; and not so much as the Character wherein it was written, but was altred to that of the *Roman* and *French*, now vsed. But to the end we may the better know the man, and the Nation that thus subdued vs; we must take our course vp to the head of their originals. The *Normans*, we finde to haue issued out of *Norway* & *Denmarke*, and were of like maners, as the rest of those *Northerne* countries; which by reason of the apt mixture of their Phlegmatique and Sanguine complexions, with their promiscuous ingendring, without any tye of marriage, yeelded that continuall surchargement of people, as they were forced to vnburthen themselues on other Countries, whereso-euer their violence could make them roome. And out of this redundancy, *Roul*, or *Rou*, a great Commander amongst them, furnished a robustious power, in the time of King *Alfrid*, and first landed in *England* (that euer lay in the Roade to all these inuadors) where finding no roome empty, nor any imployment, was content (vpon some reliefe receiued) to vse his forces other-where; which he did against *Rambalt*, Duke of *Frize*, and *Reignier* Duke of *Chaumont*, and *Hennalt*: with whom he had many violent incounters, and committed great spoyles in their Countries. Which done; he passed along the coast of

[1] *Malmsbury.—Mauricius*, Bishop of *London An. Dom.* 1087. new built the Church of S. *Paule* in *London*, of stone brought out of *Normandie*. The Charter of *William* 1. granted to this Church. Before this time the Churches were most of Timber. *William* 1. built the white Tower, afterwards walled and incastelled vnderneath, by *William* 2. and *Henry* 1.

France, entred the mouth of *Seine*, and sackt all the Country vp to *Roan*: where the people hauing beene lately before miserably afflicted by *Hasting* (another inuador of the same Nation) were so terrified by the approach of these new forces, that the Archbishop of *Roan*, by the consent of the people, offered him the obedience of that City, and the Country about, on condition hee would defend them, and minister Iustice according to the Lawes of Christ, and the Customes of the Countrey. For *Charles* the *Simple*, then King of *France*, yeelding no present succour (beeing otherwise imbroiled about the right of his Crowne) gaue him the opportunity to plant in that place, and to grow so powerfull, as shortly after he attempted the Conquest of *Paris*, and gaue many notable defeits to the *French* Leaders. So that in the end, *Charles* was faine to buy his peace with the price of an alliance, and the whole Countrey of *Nuestria* (or *Westrich*) which of the *Normans*, was after called *Normandy*. And thereupon *Roul* became a Christian, and baptised, had the name of *Robert*, giuen by *Robert*, brother to *Eudes* late King of *France*, who then stood in competition for that Crowne with *Charles* the *Simple*: and is said to haue vnder-aided *Roul* secretly, of purpose to make him friend his designes; though after hee vrged it in an article against *Charles*, the giuing away his Country, and the fauouring of strangers.

And thus came *Roul* to establish a State to his posterity, ordering the same with that iudgement and equity, as he left his name in a perpetuall reuerence, and his successors a firme foundation to plant vpon. From him, in a direct line, descended sixe Dukes of *Normandy*, in the space of 120. yeares: *William*, 1. *Richard*, 1. *Richard*, 2. who had two sons, *Richard* and *Robert*, that successiuely inherited the Dukedome.

Robert, after he had gouerned eight yeares (either meerely for deuotion, which charity ought rather deeme) or expiation for some secret guilt, wherewith his conscience might stand charged, about his brothers death (which because it was

vntimely, might be thought vnnaturall) resolues to visite the Holy Sepulchre. And acquainting his Nobility therewith, was by them much disswaded, in regard he had no issue: and for that (already they said) *Alain*, Earle of *Brittaine*, and the Earle of *Burgogne*, were in contestation, who should succeede him in the Dutchie: so that vpon his death, and their strife, the Country was like to become a prey to the souldier, from which, in conscience he was bound, by his best meanes to secure it. The Duke willed them to be content; I haue (said hee) a little Bastard, of whose worthinesse I haue great hope, and I doubt not but hee is of my begetting: him I will inuest in the Dutchie as mine heire: And from henceforth I pray you take him for your Lord. The Earle of *Brittaine* (notwithstanding his competition) to shew the affiance I haue in him, I will constitute his gouernour, and Seneschall of *Normandie*; the King of *France* shall be his Guardian, and so I leaue him to God, and your loyalties.

Shortly after, the Bishops and Barons did their homage to his base sonne, named *William*, who was the sixt Duke of *Normandie* after *Roule*, begotten on *Arlette*, a meane woman of *Falaise*. And Duke *Robert* taking his intended journey, deliuers the Child with his owne hand, to *Henry* the first, King of *France*: whom before hee had mainely aided in preseruing his Crowne (left him by his father King *Roberts* Testament) against his elder brother, and his mother *Constance*, which with a great side of Nobility, stood for the right of *Primogeniture*, according to the custome of *France*: And therefore might the more presume (if good turnes done to Princes could weigh so much, as their selfe-respects would not turne the skale) to haue had a faire discharge of his trust: and him for a Protector, whose power was best able to bee so. And causing the Childe to doe homage for his Dutchie of *Normandy*, commits him to his Royall faith; departs his Court, and shortly after his life, in *Asia*. Whereupon his successor, but nine yeares of age, became obnoxious to all the

miseries that afflict Princes in their pupillage: besides the reproach of his birth; which though his honor and vertue might get ouer, yet lay it euer a barre in his way, and hindred his standing cleere, stood hee neuer so high.

The Nobles of *Normandy*, soone (after his fathers death, by much entreaty, got him out of the *French* Kings hands) thinking the hauing him amongst them, would adde more to his Counsellors, and such as were in office: and the State of a Court, awe his State the better. But soone they found, the hauing his person (without his power) was, but to put them out, into more discord, and faction.

For presently followed the murthering, and poisoning of Gouernors, displacing of Officers; intrusion, supplantation, surprizings, and recouerings of his person, by a Nobilitie, stubborne, haughty, and incompatible of each others precedency or neerenesse. But this was the least, as beeing done all for his person. Now followed more dangerous practices against him. His right was quarrelled by competitors, cleere in bloud, and great in meanes. Whereof the first (though farthest off in descent) was *Roger de Tresny*, bringing a faire line from *Roule*, and much proofe of his own worth, by hauing gotten great experience, in the *Sarazine* warre in *Spaine*: whereby vpon his returne, entertaining and feasting the great, and especiall men of worth; hee was growne powerfull, well followed, and beloued of many: in so much that at length, measuring his owne height, hee vrges, *What wrong it was that a Bastard, and a Childe, should be preferred before him, in the succession of the Dutchie, his Ancestors had nobly gotten: and what a shame the* Normans *(a people of that worth) would endure to be so gouerned; seeing they had others of the renowned race of* Roule, William, *and* Richard, *Dukes of Normandy, of a lawfull and direct line, if they held him vnworthy to inherite the State.* And beeing impatient (as is ambition, that euer rides without raines) of any long delay, brings his claime to a strong battaile in the field, which by the valiancie of *Roger de Beaumount*, was vtterly

defeited, and himselfe with his two brethren slaine. Whereby all feare that way was extinguished, and the reputation of the Duke and his, so much aduanced, as the King of *France* (notwithstanding his tutelary charge) tooke from him the Castle of *Thuilliers*, and demolisht it, pretending the insolencies committed there, by the Garrisons, vpon his subiects: and makes shew as yet, onely to keepe things euen. But long it was not, ere hee plainely bewrayed his minde; ayding in person *William* Earle of *Arques*, brother to Duke *Robert*, and son to *Richard* the Second, making his claime to the Dutchie, and brings a mighty Army to succour *Arques*, assieged by Conte *Guiffard*, the Dukes Generall; who (by a stratagem so trayned the *French* into an Ambush) as hee ouerthrew their whole power, and returnes the King to *Paris*, with great losse, and dishonour: Leauing *Arques* (the first *Arch* of triumph) to this Conqueror, not yet arriued to seauenteene yeares of age; and the discomfeited competitor to seeke his Fortunes with *Eustace*, Earle of *Bologne*, finding vpon his returne little grace in Court; where fortune euer alters credit and few regard men ouerthrowne.

A Conspiracy discouered strangely.—This storme ouer-past another succeeds more dangerous; there liued with Duke *William*, a young Lord of like yeares, named *Guy* sonne to *Regnalt*, Earle of *Borgogne* and *Alix* daughter to *Richard* the second; who comming to bee sensible of his interest, was aduised by some stirring spirits, to attempt for the Duchie; which they sayd appertayned to him in right, and was wrongfully vsurped by the *Bastard*: And to aduance his purpose, there happens deadly hostility betweene two of the greatest Lords of *Normandy* (*Viconte Neele*, and the Earle of *Bessin*) whose debate, Duke *William* did not, or could not pacifie. This *Guy* (lately made Earle of *Bryorn*, and *Vernon*), interposed himselfe to compose this discord; and by the aduice of *Grimoult de Plessis* (a principall mooner in this worke) so wrought, that either of these Lords, turned the poynt

of their malice vppon him, who in their quarrell fauouring neyther, made both to hate him; and easily conspire with *Guy* to murther him at vnawares: Which they had done, had not a certaine Foole (whom, for beeing held a naturall, they suspected not) noting their preparations, got away in the dead of the night to *Valogne*, knocking and crying at the Gate, till he was admitted to the Dukes presence; whom he willed in hast to flye, or hee would bee murthered. The Duke seeing the Foole in this affright, thought dangers were not to bee weighed by the worth of the Reporter, but by their likelyhood; and knowing his Fortune was liable vnto all suddaine assasinations; instantly takes Horse, and all alone postes to *Fallaise*, his especiall place of strength: on the way, his Horse beeing tyred, about breake of day, he comes to a little village called *Rye*, where, by good Fortune, the Gentleman of the place, was standing at his doore, ready to goe abroad; of whom the Duke requires the next way to *Fallaise*: The Gentleman perceiuing who hee was (though as then very vnwilling to bee knowne) humbly craues the cause of his so strange and vntimely Riding alone: The Duke seeing himselfe discouered, tells the occasion: The Gentleman (whose name was *Robert de Rye)* furnishes him with a fresh Horse, and sends two of his sonnes to conduct him the neerest way to *Fallaise*: No sooner was hee gone out of sight, but after post the Conspirators, enquiring of the same Gentleman, whether hee saw the Duke; who answered, that hee was gone a little before, such a way (shewing them a diuers path) and rode on with them, offering his seruice to Conte *Bessin*; where they made themselues so powerfull, as the Duke withdrew him to *Roan*, and from thence to the King of *France*, to craue his ayde, putting him in minde of the faithfull seruice his Father had done him: how hee was his Homager, vnder his tutelary charge, and had no other Sanctuary of succour to flye vnto, in this case of his mutinous and turbulent Nobility; the effect whereof was of dangerous consequence to that Crowne. And so farre vrged

the importancie of reliefe, as the King at length (who seemes was yet content to haue him bee, though not too strong, and peraduenture rather him then his Competitor *Guy de Burgogne*) ayded him in Person with a puissant Army against these Competitors, whom they found in the vale of *Dunes* with as great power and resolution to bid them battaile, as they to assaile them. Here one *Guilleson*, Vncle to Viconte *Neel* by the mother, forced his Horse into the Battailion of the *French*, and made at the King, and strake him downe with his Launce: Which Conte Saint *Paule* perceiuing, hastes to encounter him with that Violence, as both fell to the Earth; but *Guilleson* soone gets vp, and though his Horse was slayne vnder him, by *Castillon*, he escapes out of the presse, and after fled into *Apulia* with others. The King recouered, and more inkindled with this affront, spared not his Person, to auenge his wrath. Duke *William* likewise (as it stood him most vppon) shewed effects of an all-daring and Magnanimous Prince. And yet had not *Ralph de Tesson* beene false to his fellowes to recouer faith with him, he had not carried (as he did) the victory.

After which, diuers of the Conspirators (who had too great hearts to yeeld) passed the Mountaines into *Italy*, to *Robert Guiscard* their Country-man (who of a priuate Gentleman, was now by his prowesse, become Lord of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Sicile*, within the space of twelue yeares:) to whom they were exceeding welcome, and especially *Guilleson*, for hauing incountred with a King in the middest of his Battaile; which made him of wider note. But the better to know, what starre these *Norman* spirits had, as borne for the reuolutions of those times, it shall not lye out off our way to shewe how they first came into *Italy* vpon this occasion.

There happened a debate betweene one *Osmond Drengot* and *William Repostell*, Gentlemen both valiant, and of great Parentage in *Normandy*, who as they hunted in the Forrest of *Rouvery* (neere *Rouan*) with Duke *Robert*; *Drengot* slew

Repostell, in his presence; and fearing the fury of the Duke, and the Friends of the slayne, fled to *Rome*, and so to *Naples*, where hee, with his small Company of *Normans* that followed him, was entertayned of the Duke *de Benevento*, to serue him against the *Sarasins*, and *Affricans*, which miserably infested *Apulia* and *Calabria*, at that time. The bruite of which entertainment was no sooner spred in *Normandy*, but diuers Valiant Gentlemen and Souldiers, allured with the hope of good Fortune, passed the Alpes, got to their Nation, and so wrought, as they grew formidable to these *Barbarians*, and in the end, vtterly chaced and extinguished them. The *Calabrians* and *Apulians*, seeing themselues ridde of their enemies, would haue beene glad likewise (their turne serued) to bee rid of their Friends, and eyther vsing them more vnkindely then of custome, or they presuming more of desert, turned their Swords vppon their Intertayners. And first got a little place, which they fortified for the *Rendeuous*, and receipt of booty: And so Augmenting still their Winnings, obtayned Territories, Cities, and Fortresses. And after the Death of *Drengot*, succeeded other Gallant Leaders, and at length *Tancred*, *Signior de Hauteuille*, in Constantine, with his twelue sons, came into *Apulia*, of whom his third son *Robert*, surnamed *Guiscard*, attained the commaund, and was a man of faire stature, cleare iudgement, and indefatigable courage. Hee Conquered all *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Sycile*, passed the Sea into *Greece*; relieued *Michael Diocrisius*, Emperour of *Constantinople*, defeited *Nicephorus* that vsurped the Empire, and shortly after *Alexius* attempting the like; and in one yeare vanquished two Emperours, the one of *Greece*, the other of *Germany*: swayed the whole Estate of *Italy*, and was in a faire way to haue attayned the Empire of *Constantinople* for himselfe, had hee not dyed in the expedition.

Beomond his eldest son, by his first wife, became after Prince of *Antioch*, and is much renowned in the holy Warres. *Roger* (of his second marriage with the daughter of the Prince of

Salerno) succeeded in the States of *Italy*, as more theirs by birth and blood. His daughters were all highly married; Thus from a priuate Gentleman, came this famous *Norman* to leaue a succession of Kings and Princes after him, and dyed the same yeare as did this *William*, his concurrent in the loue and fauour of Fortune. And to this man fled all the discontented and desperate *Normans* during these ciuill Wars the Duke had with so many Competitors; and euery ouerthrow hee gaue them, augmented *Guiscards* forces in *Italy*; and especially this battaile of *Danes*; which ended not the Dukes trauailes, for *Guy de Burgogne* escaping the fight, fortified the Castles of *Briorn* and *Verneuille*, but in the end was faine to render them both, and himselfe, to the Dukes mercy, and became his pencioner, who was his Competitor; which act of clemency in the Duke, brought in many other to submit themselues; whereby they re-obtayned their Signiories, but had their Castles demolished.

Hauing ended this worke, new occasion to keepe him in action, was ministred by *Geoffry Martle* Earle of *Aniou*, who warring vpon the *Poictouins*, incroached also vppon his neighbours States, and vsurped *Alenson*, *Dampfront*, and *Passais*, members of the Dutchy of *Normandy*: Which to recouer, the Duke leauies an Army, and first got *Alenson*, where (for that he was opprobriously scorned by the besiedged, who, when they saw him, would cry *La Pel*, *La Pel*, in reproach of the basenesse of his mother, and the Trade of the place of his birth) hee shewed extreame cruelty. Then layes hee siedge to *Dampfront*; which to relieue, Count *Martell* comes with his greatest forces: and the Duke to take notice of his strength, sends out *Roger de Montgomery*, with two other Knights to deliuer this message to the Earle, *That if he came to victuall* Dampfront, *hee should finde him there the Porter to keep him out:* Whereto the Earle returnes this answer, *Tell the Duke, to morrow by daybreake, hee shall haue me there on a white horse, ready to giue him the Combat, and I will enter* Dampfront *if*

I can: And to the end he shall know me, I will weare a shield, without any deuice.

Roger replies, *Sir you shall not neede to take that paines, for to morrow morning, you shall haue the Duke in this place, mounted on a bay horse; And that you may know him, he shall weare on the poynt of his Launce, a streamer of taffata, to wipe your face.* Herewith returning, each side prepares for the morning: When the Earle, busie in ordering his battailes, was aduertised by two Horse-men, that came crossing the field, how *Dampfronte*, for certaine was rendered to the Duke; whereupon in great rage, hee presently departs with his Army: whereof a part, was (in passing a streight) cut off, by *Viconte Neel*, who for that seruice, redeemed his former offence, and was restored to the Dukes fauour, whom hee euer after faithfully serued. Those of *Damfronte*, desperate of succour, presently yeeld themselues to the Duke, who with his engines and forces remooues from thence to *Hambrieres*, a frontire Towne of Count *Martels*, and by the way (had it not beene by himselfe discouered) hee had beene vtterly ouerthrowne by an ambush, which gaue him much to doe, and lost him very many braue men. Wherewith hee grew so inraged, that hee rushed into the troupes of his enemies; made at Count *Martell*, strake him downe with his sworde, claue his helmet, and cut off an eare: but yet hee escaped out of the preasse, though diuers were taken, and the *Aniouins* vtterly defeited.

The Duke Marries *Matilde* daughter of *Baldouin* the fift, Earle of *Flaunders*.—Whilst thus hee was trauailed with an outward enemy, two more, were found at home, to conspire against him: *William Guelan*, Earle of *Mortagne*, descended from *Richard* the second: And *William* Earle of *Eu*, and *Montreul*, issuing from *William*, the brother of the same *Richard*, and of *Esselin*, Countesse of *Montreul*: the first vpon suspition, the other vpon proofe, of an intention, was banished, and their estates seized: the Earledome of *Mortaigne* hee gaue to *Robert*: that of *Eu* to *Odo* (after Bishop of *Bayeux*) both his bretheren

by the mother. These assaults from abroad, these scornes, conspiracies, and vnder-workings at home, he passed before hee was full 22 yeares of age: and thus his enemies made him, that sought to vndoe him. But now, more to vnderset and strengthen his State, against future practises, hee convokes an assemblie of his Prelates, Barrons, and Gentlemen, causing them to receiue their oath of Fealtie, and raze their Castles; which done, hee married *Matilde*, the daughter of *Baldouin* the fift, Earle of *Flaunders*, but not without contrist and trouble: for his Vncle *Mauger*, Arch-bishop of *Roan*, excommunicates him, for matching within the forbidden degrees of kindred, she being daughter to *Elinor*, daughter to *Richard* the second, and so his fathers sisters daughter. To expiate for which offence (vpon a dispensation from Pope *Victor*) they were inioyned the building of certaine hospitals for blinde people: and two abbyes, the one for men, the other for women: which were erected at *Caen*.

The reasons why the king of France warres with the *Normans*. —This match, and the ouer-marching his enemies, set him so high a marke of enuey in the eye of *France*, which naturally loued not the *Normans*, (whom in reproach they vsually called *Trewans*) as they easily incensed their King, who of himselfe was forward enough, to abate a power, growne so out of proportion with the rest of the Princes of his Dominions, to finde a quarrell (which confiners easily doe) to set vppon him: and to make it looke the fairer, pretends to correct the insolencies of the *Normans* committed vppon his Territories, and to releiue Count *Martell* opprest by the Duke; besides alleadging, *It concerned him in honour and iustice, to haue that Prouince, which held of his Crowne, to bee gouerned by a Prince of lawful blood, according to Christian order and Lawes Ecclesiasticall*: And therefore resolueth vtterly to exterminate the Duke, and establish a legittimate Prince in the Duchie. For which effect, two armies are gathered from all parts of his Kingdome; the one sent along the riuer

Scin, the other into the Country of *Bessen*, as meaning to encompasse him.

The defeiture of the Army of the King of *France* by the *Normans*.—The Duke likewise deuides his forces into two parts, sends his brother *Odo*, Earl of *Eu*, *Walter Guifford* Earle of *Longueuill*, and others with the one, to the Countrie of *Caux*; himselfe with the other takes towards *Eureux* (to make head to the King that was at *Mante*) and withdrawes all cattle and prouisions out of the flat Country, into Cities and Fortresses, for their owne store, and disfurnishment of the enemie. The Kings army marching from *Beauuois* to *Mortimer*, and finding there a fat Country full of all prouisions, betooke them to make good cheere, and rests there all that night; thinking the *Norman* forces were yet with the Duke at *Eureux*; which the Army in *Caux* conducted by *Otho* vnderstanding, marched all night, and by breake of day gaue them so hot an alarum, and so sudaine, as put them all in a rout, leauing horse, and armour, and all to the assaylants; who made such a destruction of them, that of forty thousand, not the fourth part escaped.

With this defeiture, the King of *France* is againe returned home, with great rage and griefe, and the Duke, with the redemption of the prisoners, recouers his peace, and the Castle of *Thuilliers*, taken from him in his vnder-age. Count *Martell* though much dismayed with the Kings ouerthrow, yet leaues not to make some attempts for the recouering his Townes; but with no successe. The Duke hee saw was too well beloued and followed, for him to doe any good without a stronger armey. Wherefore the next Spring, he goes againe importune the King of *France*, to aide him against the Duke: who (he said) *Was now growne so insolent upon this peace, and the victory he had stolne, and not wonne, that there was no liuing for his neighboures necre him:* Besides, the *Normans* had the *French* in such derision, and base esteeme, as they made their act (at *Mortimer*) their onely sport, and the subiect of their rimes: as

if a King of *France*, vpon the losse of a few men, was retired, and durst not breake a dishonorable peace.

The Army of the King of *France* ouerthrowne at *Varneuille* by the *Normans*.—With which instigation, and being stung with the touch of reproach, hee raises another Army far mightier then before, wherein were three Dukes, and twelue Earles, and notwithstanding the solemne peace made, and so lately sworne with the Duke, hee enters *Normandy* in the haruest time, ouerrunnes and spoiles all the Country, along the coast to *Bessin*: from whence marching to *Bayeux*, and *Caen*, with purpose to passe the riuer *Diue* at *Varneuille*, to destroy the Countries of *Ange*, *Liseux*, and *Roumoys*, euén to *Roan*, and finding the case-way long, and the bridge narrow, caused his vant-gard to passe ouer first: and to secure his Arier-gard, conducted by the Duke of *Berry*, himselfe stayes behinde in *Caen*, till his people, and their carriages were passed. Duke *William* (who all this while, stores his fortresses with men and victual) makes himselfe as strong in the Towne of *Fallaise*, as he could; hath no Army in the field, but a running camp to be ready to take all aduantages: lets the fury of the storme spend it selfe, and hauing aduertisement of this passage, marched all night with ten thousand men, and in the morning earely, sets vpon the Arier-gard, with so sudaine a cry and fury, as they who were before on the Case-way hearing this noyse behind, thrust forward their fellowes, hasting to get ouer the bridge, with such a crowd and presse, as they brake it, and many were drowned in the riuer. They who were got ouer, could not returne to ayde the rest; nor the King (by reason of the Marshes on both sides) yeeld any succor to his people; but stood a spectator of their slaughter, and the taking of sixe of his Earles, of whom one was the exiled Earle of *Eu*, whom the King (fauouring his great worth) had made Count *De Soissons*.

The griefe of this ouerthrow, shortly after gaue the King of *France* his death, and the Duke of *Normandy* a ioyfull peace,

which hee nobly imployed in the ordering and adorning his State: building, endowing, and decking Monasteries and Churches: gathering reliques from all parts to furnish his Abbyes at *Caen* (where he also erected a Tombe for himselfe and his wife) feasting and rewarding his Nobles and men of worth: whereby he so possest him of the hearts of his people generally, as they were intirely his, for what hee would.

The Duke comes to visit his kinsman.—*Harold* goeth ouer into *Normandy*.—His entertainment.—His promises to the Duke.—During this calme of his life, hee makes a iourny ouer into *England*, as if to visite King *Edward* his kinsman: who, in regard of the preseruation, and breeding hee had in *Normandy*, by Duke *Richard* the second (Grandfather to them both) gaue him most Royall entertainement: And here he shewed himselfe; and here (no doubt) hee found matter for his hopes to worke on. In this enterview he discouered *England*, being to be presupposed, he came not to gather cockle-shels, on the shore. Nor was it long after ere *Harold* (whether of purpose to ratifie some paction closely contriued betwixt them: or by casualty of weather driuen into *France*, and so faine to make it seeme a iourney of purpose to the Duke, is not certainely deliuered) was gallantly entertained in *Normandy*, presented with all shewes of Armes, brought to *Paris*, and there likewise feasted in that Court. And at his returne to *Rouen*, something was concluded, either in likelyhood to deuide the Kingdom betweene them, or that *Harold* being a coast-dweller, and had the strongest hand in the State, should let in the Duke, and do his best to help him to the Crowne, vpon conditions of his owne greatnesse, or whatsoeuer it was; promises were made and confirmed by oathes vpon the Euangelists, and all the sacred Reliques at *Rouen*, in the presence of diuers great persons. Besides for more assurance, *Harold* was fyanced to *Adeliza*, the Dukes daughter, and his brother *Wolnot*, left a pledge for the performance.

The Dukes speech to the assembly of the States of *Nor-*

mandy.—The subtill proceeding of the Duke with his Nobles. —This intercourse made the trans-action of the fate of *England*, and so much was done, either by King *Edward* or *Harold* (though neithers act, if any such were, was of power to preiudice the State, or alter the course of a right succession) as gaue the Duke a colour to claime the Crowne, by a donation made by Testament, which being against the Law and Custome of the Kingdome, could be of no validity at all. For the Crowne of *England* being held, not as Patrimoniall, but in a succession by remotion (which is a succeeding to another place) it was not in the power of King *Edward* to collate the same by any dispositiue and testamentary will, the right descending to the next of blood, onely by the Custome and Law of the Kingdome: For the Successour is not sayd properly to be the heire of the King, but the Kingdome, which makes him so, and cannot bee put from it by any act of his Predecessour. But this was onely his claime; the right was of his owne making, and no otherwise. For as soone as hee had heard of the death of King *Edward*, with the Election, and Coronation of *Harold*, (for they came both together) hee assembles the States of *Normandy*, and acquaints them with the right he had to *England*, *Soliciting an extention of their vtmost meanes for his recouery thereof, and auengement of the periurd vsurper* Harold; *shewing them apparant probability of successe, by infallible intelligence hee had from the State, his strong party therein, with the debility and distraction of the people: What glory, wealth, and greatnesse, it would adde to their Nation, the obtayning of such a Kingdome, as was that opportunely layd open for them, if they apprehended the present occasion.* All which remonstrances notwithstanding, could induce but very few to like of this attempt, and those such who had long followed him in the warres, exhausted their estates, and content to runne vpon any aduenture that might promise likelyhood of aduancement. The rest were of diuers opinions: Some, that it was sufficient to hold and defend their

owne Country; without hazarding themselues, to conquer others; and these were men of the best ability: others were content to contribute, but so sparingly, as would little aduance the businesse: and for the most part they were so tyred with the former warres, and so desirous to embrace the blessing of peace, as they were vnwilling to vndergoe a certaine trouble, for an vncertaine good. And with these oppositions, or faint offers, the Dukes purpose, at first, had so little way, as did much perplex him: At length, seeing this protraction, and difficulty in generall: hee deales with his neerest and most trusty friends in particular, being such as he knew affected the glory of action, and would aduenture their whole estates with him. As *William fitz Auber*, *Conte de Bretteuille*, *Gualter Guifford* Earle of *Longueuille*, *Roger de Beaumont*, with others, especially his owne brothers, *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux*, and *Robert* Earle of *Mortaigne*: these in full assembly he wrought to make their offers: which they did in so large a proportion; and especially *William fitz Auber* (who made the first offer, to furnish forty Ships with men and munition; the Bishop of *Bayeux* forty, the Bishop of *Mans* thirty, and so others, according, or beyond their abilities) as the rest of the assemblie, doubting if the action succeeded without their helpe (the Duke arryuing to that greatnesse) would beare in minde, what little minde they shewed to aduance his desires, beganne to contribute more largely. The Duke, finding them yeelding, though not in such sort as was requisite for such a worke; dealt with the Bishops, and great men apart, so effectually, as at length hee got of them seuerally, which of altogether hee could neuer haue compassed; and causing each mans contribution to bee registred, inkindled such an emulation amongst them, as they who lately would doe nothing, now striued who should doe most.

The French likewise ayde the Duke.—And not onely wan hee the people of his owne Prouinces, to vndertake this action, but drew by his faire perswasions and large promises,

most of the greatest Princes and Nobles of *France*, to aduenture their persons, and much of their estate with him; as *Robert fitz Haruays*, Duke of *Orleance*, the Earles of *Brittaine*, *Ponthieu*, *Bologne*, *Poictou*, *Mayne*, *Neuers*, *Hiesms*, *Aumal*, *Le Signior de Tours*, and euen his mortall enemy *Martel*, Earle of *Aniou*, became to bee as forward as any. All which, hee sure could neuer haue induced, had not his vertues and greatnesse gained a wide opinion and reputation amongst them. Although in these aduancements and turnes of Princes, there is a concurrency of dispositions, and a constitution of times prepared for it: yet is it strange, that so many mighty men of the *French* Nation, would aduenture their liues and fortunes to adde *England* to *Normandy*, to make it more then *France*, and so great a Crowne to a Duke, who was too great for them already. But where mutations are destined, the counsels of men must bee corrupted, and there will fall out all aduantages to serue that businesse.

The reason of the Dukes power.—The King of *France*, who should have strangled this disseigne in the birth, was a child, and vnder the curature of *Baldouin*, Earle of *Flanders*, whose daughter the Duke had married, and was sure to haue rather furtherance then any opposition that way: Besides, to amuze that Court, and dazell a young Prince, he promised faithfully, if hee conquered this Kingdome; to hold it of that King, as he did the Dutchie of *Normandy*, and do him homage for the same; which would adde a great glory to that Crowne. Then was he before-hand with Pope *Alexander* (to make religion giue reputation and auowment to his pretended right) promising likewise to hold it of the Apostolique Sea, if he preuailed in his enterprize. Whereupon the Pope sent him a Banner of the Church, with an *Agnus* of Gold, and one of the haires of Saint *Peter*. The Emperour *Henry* 4. sent him a Prince of *Almaine* with forces, but of what name, or his number, is not remembred: so that we see it was not *Normandy* alone that subdued *England*, but

a collected power out of all *France* and *Flanders* with the aydes of other Princes. And by these meanes, made he good his vndertaking; and within eight moneths was ready furnished with a powerfull Army at Saint *Valery* in *Normandy*, whence hee transported the same into *England* in 896 ships, as some write. And this was the man, and thus made to subdue *England*.

1066. *Anno Reg.* 1. Reason for the yealding of the Clergie. —And now having gotten, the great and difficult battaile, before remembred, at *Hastings*, the foureteenth of October 1066. he marched without any opposition to *London*, where *Edwin* and *Morchar*, Earles of *Northumberland*, and *Mercland* (brothers of eminent dignity and respect in the Kingdome) had laboured with all their power to stirre the hearts of the people for the conseruation of the State, and establishing *Edgar Atheling*, the next of the Royall issue, in his right of the Crowne: whereunto other of the Nobility had likewise consented; had they not seene the Bishops auerse or wauering. For, as then, to the Clergie, any King (so a Christian) was all one: they had their Prouince apart, deuided from secular domination: and of a Prince (though a stranger) who had taken vp so much of the world before hand, vppon credit and fame of his piety and bounty, they could not but presume well for their estate: and so were content to giue way to the present Fortune.

What mooued the Nobles to yeeld.—The Nobility, considering they were so borne, and must haue a King: not to take him (that was of power to make himselfe) would shew more of passion then prouidence: and to be now behind hand to receiue him, with more then submission, was as if to withstand: which (with the distrust of each others faith) made them striue and run headlong, who / should be first to preoccupate the grace of seruitude, and intrude them into forraine subiection.

The Commons (like a strong vessell that might haue beene for good vse) were hereby left, without a sterne, and could not

moue irregularly. So that all estates in generall either corrupted with new hopes, or transported with feare, forsooke themselues, and their distressed Country. Vppon his approach to *London*, the Gates were all set open: the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, *Stigand*, with other Bishops, the Nobility, Magistrates, and People, rendring themselues in all obedience vnto him: and hee returning plausible protestation of his future Gouernment, was on *Christmas* day, then next following, Crowned King of *England*, at *Westminster*, by *Aldred*, Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, for that *Stigand* was not held Canonically inuested in his Sea; and yet thought to haue beene a forward moouer of this alteration.

The Coronation and Oath of *William* 1.—King *Williams* submission to the orders of the Kingdome of *England.*—Heere, according to the accustomed forme, at his Coronation, the Bishops and Barons of the Realme, tooke their oaths, to be his true and loyall subiects, and he reciprocally (beeing required thereunto by the Arch-bishop of *Yorke*) made his personall oath, before the Altar of Saint *Peter*, *To defend the Holy Church of God, and the Rectors of the same: To gouerne the Vniuersall People, subiect vnto him, iustly: To establish equall Lawes, and to see them duly executed.* Nor did hee euer claime any power by Conquest, but as a regular Prince, submitted himselfe to the orders of the Kingdome: desirous rather to haue his Testamentary Title (howsoeuer weake) to make good his succession, rather then his sword. And though the stile of *Conqueror* by the flattery of the time, was after giuen him; hee shewed by all the course of his gouernment hee assumed it not: introducing none of all those alterations (which followed) by violence, but a milde gathering vpon the disposition of the State, and the occasions offered, and that by way of reformation. And now taking Hostages for his more security, and order for the defence and gouernment of his Kingdome, at the opening of the Spring next, hee returnes into *Normandy*, so to settle his affaires there, as they might not distract him

from his businesse in *England*, that required his whole powers.

King *William* returnes into *Normandy* with the chiefe Nobility of *England*.—And to leaue heere all behind him, hee commits the rule of the Kingdome, to his brother the Bishop of *Bayeux*, and to his Cosin *Fitz* (or *Oserne*) *Auber*, whom hee had made Earle of *Hereford*; taking with him all the chiefe men of *England*, who were likest to be heads to a reuolt: As *Edgar Atheling*, the Archbishop *Stigand*, lately discontented: *Edwin*, and *Morchar*, with many other Bishops and Noblemen: Besides, to vnburthen his charge, and dis-impester his Court; hee tooke backe with him all the *French* Aduenturers, and such as were men, rewarding them as farre as his treasure would extend, and the rest he made vp in faire promises.

In his absence, which was all that whole Summer, nothing was here attempted against him, but onely that *Edric*, surnamed the *Forrester*, in the County of *Hereford*, called in the Kings of the *Welsh*, to his ayde, and forraged only the remote borders of that Country: The rest of the Kingdome stood quiet, expecting what would become of that new world, wherein as yet they found no great alteration, their Lawes and liberties remayning the same they were before, and might hope by this accession of a new Prouince; the State of *England* would be but inlarged in dominion abroad, and not impayred in profit at home, by reason the Nation was but small, and of a plentifull and not ouer-peopled Country, likely to impester them.

King *William* returnes into *England*.—Hauing disposed his affayres of *Normandy*, he returnes towards winter, into *England*, where he was to satisfie three sorts of men; *First, such Aduenturers, with whom hee had not yet cleared: Secondly, those of his owne people, whose merits or neerenesse, looked for recompence, whereof the number being so great, many must haue their expectation fed, if not satisfied: Thirdly, the people of this Kingdome, by whom hee must now subsist:* For beeing not able with his owne Nation so to impeople the same, as to hold

and defend it (if hee should proceed to an extirpation of the naturall Inhabitants) hee was likewise to giue them satisfaction.

Wherein, he had more to do, then in his battell at *Hastings*; seeing all remunerations, with supplies of money, must be raised out of the stocke of this Kingdome, which could not but be irkesome to the State in generall, and all preferments and dignities conferred on his, to be either by vacancies, or displacing others, which must needs breed very feeling grieuances in particular. And yet wee finde no great men thrust out of their roomes, but such as put themselues out, by reuolting, after his establishment, and their fealty giuen; as appeares by the controuersie betweene *Warren* the *Norman*, and *Sherburn* of *Sherburn* Castle in *Norfolke* (*Cambden Norf.*), which Castle, though the King had giuen to *Warren*, yet (when *Sherburne* alledged, *How he neuer bare Armes against him: that hee was his subiect as well as the other, and held his Lands by that law which he had established amongst all his subiects*, the King gaue iudgement against *Warren*, and commanded, that *Sherburn* should hold his Land in peace. So that it seemes, hee contented himselfe and his, for the time, onely with what he found heere ready, and with filling vp their places, who were slaine in the battaile; or fled, as many were, with the sonnes of *Harald* out of the Kingdome (*M.S.*). Such Gentlemen as he could not presently preferre, and had a purpose to aduance, hee dispersed abroad into Abbeyes, there to liue till places fell out for them: and 24. he sent to the Abbey of *Eley*: whereby he not onely lessened the multitude of attendants and suitors at Court; eased that eye-sore of strangers, but also had them a watch ouer the Clergie, who then were of great and eminent power in the Kingdome; and might preuaile with the people.

1067. *Anno Reg.* 2. The *English* Nobility forsake the Kingdome.—The King of *Scots* enters league with the *English* Nobility and married *Edgars* sister.—But the English Nobility, incompatible of these new occurrences; found notwithstanding, such a disproportion of grace, and darkning of their dignities,

by the interposition of so many, as must needes lessen their splendour; that many of the chiefest, doubting to be more impayred in honour and estate, conspired together, and fled some into *Scotland*, and some into *Denmarke*, to try if by ayde from abroad, they might recouer themselues, and their fortunes againe at home. Amongst which, the chiefe was *Edgar Atheling* (tearmed *Englands Dearling*, which shewed the peoples zeale to his blood,) who with his mother *Agatha*, and his two sisters, *Margaret* and *Christin*, intending to retyre into *Hungary* (their natiue Countrey) were driuen by tempest on the coast of *Scotland*, where they were in all Hospitable manner entertained by *Malcolin* the third, whose former sufferings in his exile, had taught him to compassionate others like distresses; and whom it concerned now to looke to his owne, his neighbours house beeing thus on fire: and to foster a party against so dangerous an incommer, that was like to thrust them all out of doore. Which induced him not onely to entertaine this Prince, dispossest of his right, but to enter league with him for the publike safety; And to inchaine it the stronger, he takes to wife *Margaret*, the sister of *Edgar*, (a Lady indued with all blessed vertues) by whom the bloud of our ancient Kings was preserued, and conioyned with the *Norman* in *Henry* the second, and so became *English* againe. Vnto *Edgar* in *Scotland*, repayred the Earles *Edwin* and *Morchar*, *Hereward*, *Gospatric*, *Siward*, with others: and shortly after *Stigand* and *Aldred*, Arch-bishops, with diuers of the Clergie: who in the third yeare of this Kings reigne (1068. *Anno Reg.* 3), raised very great commotions in the North, beyond *Humber*, and wrought most egarly to recouer their lost Country: but being now too late, and the occasion not taken before the setling of the gouernment, whilst it was new, and branling, they preuailed nothing, but gaue aduantage to the Conquerour, to make himselfe more then hee was: For all conspiracies of Subiects, if they succeed not, aduance the Soueraigntie: and nothing gaue roote to the *Norman* planting heere, more then the petty reuolts made

by discattered troupes, in seuerall parts, begun without order, and followed without resolution; whereas nothing could be done for a generall recouery, but by a generall sublevation of the people, for which all wary preuention was vsed, and they had waites enough laid on, to hold them downe. And these Lords imbroiled themselues and held him doing in the North, yet hee hauing all the South parts setled vnder his dominion, with well practised and prepared Forces, there could bee little hope of Good, whilst all their great Estates furnisht the *Normans*, both in state and meanes to ruine them. The Earledome, and the Lands which *Edwin* held in *Yorkeshire*, were giuen to *Alain*, Earle of *Brittaine*, kinsman to the Conqueror; The Archbishopricke of *Canterbury*, confer'd on *Lanfranc*, Abbot of *Caen*: That of *Yorke*, on *Thomas* his Chaplain, and all the rest both of the Clergy and others, which were out, had their places within, supplied by *Normans*.

And after King *William* had appeased a commotion in the West, which the sonnes of *Harold*, with forces out of *Ireland* had raised, and also repressed the rebellion of *Excester* and *Oxford*, he takes his iourney in person Northward with all expedition (lest the enemy there, should grow too high in heart and opinion, vppon the great slaughter of his people, made at *Yorke*; and the defeiture of his brother and Lieutenant, *Robert* Earle of *Mortaine*, slaine with seauen hundred *Normans* at *Durham*:) where, at his first comming he so wrought, that hee eyther discomfeited, or corrupted the Generalls of the *Danicque* forces (newly arriued to ayde the Lords, sent by *Swaine*, King of *Denmarke*, vnder the conduct of his two sonnes, *Harold* and *Knute*, with a Nauy of three hundred sayle:) and after sets vpon the Army of the Lords, weakened both in strength and hope, by this departure of their Confederates, and puts them to flight. Which done, hee vtterly wasted, and layd desolate, all that goodly Country betweene *Yorke* and *Durham*, the space of 60 miles, as it might be no more a succour to the enemy; And the like

course he used on all the Coasts where any apt landings lay for inuasions; and so returnes to *London*.

Most of the Lords after his defeit, came in, vpon publique faith giuen them, and were conducted to *Barkhamsted* by the Abbot *Fredricke*; where, vpon their submission and Oath of Allegeance re-taken, they had their pardon, and restitution of grace granted by the King, who it seemes was so willing to acquiet them, that againe hee takes his personall Oath before the Archbishop *Lanfrancke*, and the Lords, *To obserue the ancient Lawes of the Realme, established by his Noble Predecessors, the Kings of England, and especially those of Edward the Confessor.* Whereupon these stormy dispositions held calme a while.

1074. *Anno Reg.* 8.—But long it was not ere many of these Lords (whether vppon intelligence of new hopes, from Prince *Edgar* (who was still in *Scotland*,) or growne desperate of new displeasure at home, finding small performance of promises made, rupture of Oath, and all other respects, brake out againe. The Earle *Edwyn*, making towards *Scotland*, was murthered by his owne people. The Lords *Morchar* and *Hereward*, betooke them to the Isle of *Elie*, meaning to make good that place for that Winter; whether also repaired the Earle *Syward*, and the Bishop of *Durham* out of *Scotland*. But the King who was no time-giuer vnto growing dangers, besets all the Isle with flat boates on the East, and makes a bridge of two miles long on the West, and safely brought in his people vppon the enemy, who seeing themselues surprized; yeelded all to the Kings mercy, except *Hereward*, who desperately marched with his people through the Fens; and recouered *Scotland*: The rest were sent to diuers Prisons, where they died, or remayned during the Kings life.

Those Lords who persisted loyall vpon this last submission, were all employed and well graced with the King, as *Edric* the Forrester (and first that rebelled in his Reigne) was held in cleare trust, and neere about him. *Gospatrice* he made Earle

of *Northumberland*, and sent him against *Malcolin*, who in this time, subdues the Countries of *Tisdall*, *Cleueland*, and *Cumberland*: *Waltheof*, sonne to the Earle *Syward*, hee held so worthy to be made his, as hee married him to his Neece *Iudith*, though hee had beene a principall Actor in the Northerne commotion (and in defending the City of *Yorke* against him, is sayd to haue striken off the heads of diuers *Normans*, one by one, as they entred a breach, to the admiration of all about him); shewing therein that true touch of the noblest nature, to loue vertue euen in his enemies.

And now seeing *Scotland* to bee the especiall retraite for all Conspirators, and discontented in his Kingdome, yeelding them continuall succour, and assistance, and where his competitor *Edgar* liued, to beget and nurse perpetuall matter for their hopes, and at hand for all aduantages; hee enters that Kingdome with a puissant Army; which, encountring with more necessities then forces, soone grew tyred, and both Kings, considering of what difficulties the Victory would consist, were willing to take the safest way to their ends, and vppon faire ouertures, to conclude a peace; Articling for the bounds of each Kingdome, with the same title of Dominion, as in former times: All delinquents, and their partakers generally pardoned.

Scotland before this time generally spake a kind of *Irish*.—Titles of honour in *Scotland*.—Heere with the vniuersall turne of alteration thus wrought in *England*, *Scotland* (being a part of the body of this Isle) is noted to haue likewise had a share; and as in the Court of *England*, the *French* tongue became generally spoken; so in that of *Scotland* did the English, by reason of the multitude of this Nation, attending both the Queene and her brother *Edgar*, and daily repayring theither for their safety, and combination against the Common enemy: of whom diuers, abandoning their natiue distressed Countrey, were by the bounty of that King preferred; and there planted, spread their off-spring into many noble families, remayning to

this day: The titles for distinguishing degrees of honour; as of Duke, Earle, Baron, Rider or Knight, were then (as is thought) first introduced; and the nobler sort began to be called by the title of their *Signories* (according to the *French* manner) which before bare the name of their Father, with the addition of *Mac*, after the fashion of *Ireland*. Other innouations, no doubt, entred there likewise at the opening of this wide mutation of ours: fashion and immitation like weedes growing in euery soyle.

1075. *Anno Reg.* 9.—1076. *Anno Reg.* 10.—1077. *Anno Reg.* 11.—Shortly after this late made peace, Prince *Edgar* voluntarily came in, and submitted himselfe to the King, beeing then in *Normandy*, and was restored to grace, and a faire maintenance, which held him euer after quiet. And it made well at that time for the Fortune of the King, howsoeuer for his owne, beeing thought to haue ill-timed his affayres (eyther through want of seasonable intelligence, or despayre of successe) in making too soone that submission, which was later or neuer to be done. For in this absence of the King, *Roger Fits Auber*, the young Earle of *Hereford*, contrary to his expresse Commandement, gaue his sister in marriage to *Ralph Waher*, Earle of *Northfolke*, and *Suffolke*, and at the great Solemnization thereof, the two Earles conspired with *Eustace* Earle of *Boloigne* (who secretly came ouer to this Festiuall) and with the Earle *Waltheof*, and other *English* Lords, to call in the *Danes*, and by maine power to keepe out and dispossesse the King. Who hauing thus passed ouer so many gulfes of forraine dangers, might little imagine of any wracke so neere home: and that those, whom hee had most aduanced, should haue the especiall hand in his destruction: But no rewards are benefits (that are not held so,) nor can euer cleare the accounts with them that ouer-value their merits. And had not this conspiracy beene opportunely discouered (which some say, that [was] by the Earle *Waltheof*, mooued with the vglinesse of so foule an ingratitude) they had put him againe to the winning

of *England.* But now the fire bewrayed before it flamed, was soone quenched by the diligence of *Odon* the Kings Vice-gerent, the Bishop of *Worcester* and others, who kept the Conspirators from ioyning their Forces: So that they neuer came to make head, but were eyther surprized, or forced to flye. The Earle *Roger Fitz Auber* was taken, and some say, executed; and so was shortly after the Earle *Waltheof*, whose dissent from the act, could not get him pardon for his former consent, though much compassion in respect of his great worthinesse. But the wide distent of these tumors, fed from many secret veines, seemed to be of that danger, as required this extreamity of cure, especially in a part so apt for infection, vpon any the like humours.

For this Conspiracy seemes to take motion from a generall league of all the Neighbour Princes, here about, as may well be gathered by their seuerall actions. First in the King of *France* by defending *Dole* in *Brittaine* (a Castle of *Ralph de Waher*) against the King of *England*, and in likelihood, imploying the Earle of *Bologne* towards the Conspirators: In *Swayne* King of *Denmarke*, by sending a Nauy of two hundred sayle, vnder the conduct of his sonne *Knute* and others. In *Drone* King of *Ireland*, by furnishing the sonnes of *Harold* with sixty-fiue ships. In *Malcoline*, and the Kings of *Wales*, by their readinesse to assist. But the *Danes* being on the coast, and hearing how their Confederates had sped, with the great preparations the King had made, after some pillage taken vpon the coast of *England* and *Flanders*, returned home, and neuer after arriued to disturbe this Land. Though in *Anno Reg.* 19. *Knute*, then King of *Denmarke*, after the death of *Swayne* (intending to repayre the dishonour of his two last aduentures past) and to put for the Crowne of *England*, his predecessours had holden, prepared a Nauy of a thousand saile, and was aided with sixe hundred more by *Robert le Frison* Earle of *Flanders* (whose daughter he had married). But the windes held so contrary for two yeares together, as

vtterly quasht that enterprize; and freed the King, and his successors for euer after, from future mollestation that way.

1078. *Anno Reg.* 12. But this businesse put the State to an infinite charge, the King entertaining al that time (besides his *Normans*) *Hugh*, brother to the King of *France*, with many companies of *French*. Finding the *English* (in respect of many great Families allied to the *Danes*) to incline rather to that Nation, then the *Norman*, and had experience of the great and neere intelligence continually passing betweene them.

1079. *Anno Reg.* 13. The Kings of *Wales* doe homage to King *William.*—*Robert* of Normandy titl'd *Courtois.*—And these were al the warres he had within the Kingdome, sauing in *An Regni* 13. he subdued *Wales*, and brought the Kings there, to do him homage. His warres abroad, were all about his Dominions in *France*, first raised by his owne son *Robert*, left Lieutenant gouernor of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, and County of *Mayne*, who in his Fathers absence, tasting the glory of command, grew to assume the absolute rule of the Prouince, causing the Barrons there, to do him homage (as Duke) not as Lieuetenant, and leagues him with the King of *France*, who working vpon the easinesse of his youth, & ambition, was glad to aprehend that occasion to disioynt his Estate, who was growne too great for him. And the profuse largesse, and disorderly expence, whereto *Robert* was addicted, is nourished by all wayes possible as the meanes to imbarke him in those difficulties, of still getting mony, that could not but yeeld continuall occasion to entertaine both his owne discontent and theirs, from whom his supplies must be raised. And though thereby he purchased him the title of *Courtois*, yet he lost the opinion of good gouernment, and constrained the Estates of *Normandy*, to complaine to his Father of the great concussion, and violent exactions he vsed amongst them.

1080. *Anno Reg.* 14. *Robert* rebels against his Father.—The King vnderstanding the fire thus kindled in his owne house, that had set others all in combustion, hastes with his

Forces into *Normandy*, to haue surprized his son, who aduertized of his coming, furnisht with two thousand men at armes, by the king of *France*, lay in ambush where he should passe; sets vpon him, defeited most of his people, and in the persuite hapned to incounter with himselfe, whom he vnhorsed, and wounded in the arme, with his Launce; but perceiuing by his voyce it was his Father, hee hasted to remount him, humbly crauing pardon for his offence: which the Father (seeing in what a case he was) granted, howsoeuer he gaue; and vpon his submission tooke him with him to *Rouen*, whence, after cured of his hurt, returned with his son *William* (likewise wounded in the fight) into *England*.

1081. *Anno. Reg.* 15.—Long was it not ere he was againe informed of his sons remutining, and how hee exacted vppon the *Normans*, vsurpt the intire gouernment, and vrged his Fathers promise thereof, made him before the King of *France*, vpon his conquest of *England*: which caused his little stay heere, but to make preparations for his returne into those parts: whether in passing he was driuen on the coast of *Spaine*, but at length arriuing at *Burdeaux*, with his great preparations, his son *Robert* came in, and submitted himselfe the second time: whom he now tooke with him into *England*, to frame him to a better obedience, imploying him in the hard and necessitous warres of *Scotland* (the late peace beeing betweene the two Kings againe broken) and after sent him backe, and his young son *Henry*, with the association of charge and like power (but of more trust) to the gouernment of *Normandy*.

1082. *Anno Reg.* 16. *Louis* and *Henry* sons of the kings of *France* and *England*.—After the two Princes had beene there a while, they went to visite the King of *France* at *Constance*, where feasting certaine dayes, vpon an after dinner, *Henry*, wan so much at Chesse of *Louis*, the Kings eldest son, as hee growing into Choller called him the sonne of a Bastard, and threw the Chesse in his face. *Henry* takes vpp the Chesse-boord, and strake *Louis*, with that force, as drew bloud, and

had killed him, had not his brother *Robert* come in the meane time, and interposed himselfe: whereupon they suddenly tooke horse, and with much adoe they recouered *Pontioise*, from the Kings people that pursued them. This quarrell arising, vppon the inter-meeting of these princes (a thing that seldome breeds good blood amongst them) re-enkindled a heate of more rancor in the Fathers, and beganne the first warre betweene the *English* and *French*. For presently the King of *France*, complots againe with *Robert* (impatient of a partner), enters *Normandy*, and takes the Citty of *Vernon*.

1086. *Anno Reg.* 20. King *William* denies to doe homage for *England*, to the King of *France*.—The king of *England* inuades *France*, subdues the Country of *Zaintonge* and *Poictou*, and returnes to *Rouen*, where the third time, his sonne *Robert* is reconciled vnto him, which much disapoynts and vexes the King of *France*, who thereuppon, summons the king of *England* to do him homage for the kingdome of *England*, which he refused to do, saying, *He had it of none but God, and his sword.* For the Dutchy of *Normandy* hee offers him homage: but that would not satisfie the king of *France*, whom nothing would, but what hee could not haue, the Maisterie: and seekes to make an occasion the motiue of his quarrell: and againe inuades his territories, but with more losse then profit. In the end, they conclude a certaine crazie peace, which held no longer then King *William* had recouered a sicknesse, whereinto (through his late trauell, age, and corpulencie) he was falne; at which time, the King of *France*, then young and lusty, ieasting at his great belly, whereof he sayd hee lay in at *Rouen*, so irritated him, as being recouered, hee gathers all his best Forces, enters *France* in the chiefest time of their fruits, making spoyle of all in his way, till he came euen to *Paris*, where the King of *France* then was, to whom he sends, to shew him of his vp-sitting, and from thence marches to the Citty of *Mants*, which he vtterly sackt, and in the destruction thereof, gate his owne, by the strayne of his

horse, among the breaches, and was then conueyed sicke to *Rouen*, and soe ended his warres. (1087. *Anno Reg.* 21.)

His gouernment in peace.—What were the Lawes of *England*.—The original of the Common Law now vsed.—The Law of England put into a forraine language.—Now for his gouernment in peace, and the course hee held in establishing the Kingdome thus gotten; first after hee had represt the conspiracies in the North, and well quieted all other parts of the State (which now beeing absolutely his, hee would haue to bee ruled by his owne Law) hee beganne to gouerne all by the Customes of *Normandy*. Whereupon the agreeued Lords, and sadde people of *England*, tender their humble petition, *Beseeching him in regard of his oath made at his Coronation: And by the soule of Saint Edward, from whom he had the Crowne and Kingdom: vnder whose Lawes they were borne and bred; that he would not adde that misery, to deliuer them vp to be iudged by a strange Law they vnderstood not.* And so earnestly they wrought, that hee was pleased to confirme that by his Charter, which he had twice fore-promised by his Oath: And gaue commaundement vnto his Iusticiaries to see those Lawes of Saint *Edward* (so called, not that hee made them but collected them out of *Merchen*-Law, *Dane*-Law, and *Westsex*-Law) *To bee inviolably obserued throughout the Kingdome.* And yet notwithstanding this confirmation, and the Charters afterward granted by *Henry* the first, *Henry* the second and King *Iohn*, to the same effect; there followed a great innouation both in the Lawes and gouernment in *England*; So that this seemes rather to bee done to acquiet the people, with a shew of the Continuation of their ancient customes and liberties, then that they enioyed them in effect. For the little conformitie betweene them of former times, and these that followed vppon this change of State, shew from what head they sprang. And though there might bee some veynes issuing from former originalls, yet the maine streame of our Common law, with the practise thereof, flowed out of *Nor-*

mandy, notwithstanding all obiections can bee made to the contrary. For before these collections of the *Confessors*, there was no vniuersall Law of the Kingdome, but euery seuerall Prouince held their owne customes, all the inhabitants from *Humber* to *Scotland* vsed the *Danique* Law: *Merchland*: the middle part of the country; and the State of the West *Saxons*, had their seuerall constitutions, as beeing seuerall Dominions, and though for some few yeares, there seemed to bee a reduction of the *Heptarchie*, into a *Monarchie*, yet held it not so long together (as wee may see in the succession of a broken gouernment) as to settle one forme of order currant ouer all: but that euery Prouince, according to their particular founders, had their customes apart, and held nothing in common (besides religion, and the constitutions thereof) but with the vniuersality of *Meum & Tuum*, ordered according to the rights of nations, and that *Ius innatum*, the common law of all the world, which wee see to bee as vniuersall, as are the cohabitations, and societies of men, and serues the turne to hold them together in all Countries, howsoeuer they may differ in their formes. So that by these passages, wee see what way we came, when wee are, and the furthest ende wee can discouer of the originall of our Common law; and to striue to looke beyond this, is to looke into an vncertaine Vastnesse, beyond our discerning. Nor can it detract from the glory of good Customes, if they bring but a pedigree of 600 yeares to approue their gentility; seeing it is the equity, and not the Antiquity of lawes, that makes them venerable, and the integritie of the professors thereof, the profession honored. And it were well with mankinde, if dayes brought not their corruptions, and good orders were continued with that prouidence, as they were instituted. But this alteration of the Lawes of *England* bred most heauie doleancies, not onely in this Kings time, but long after: For whereas before, those Lawes they had, were written in their owne tongue, intelligible to all; now are they translated into *Latine* and *French*, and practized wholly in the *Norman* forme

and Languages ; thereby to draw the people of this Kingdome, to learne that speach for their owne neede, which otherwise they would not doe ; And seeing a difference in Tongue, would not continue a difference in affections ; all meanes was wrought to reduce it to one *Idiom*, which yet was not in the power of the Conquerour to doe, without the extirpation, or ouerlaying of Land-bred people ; who being so farre in number (as they were) aboue the Inuadors ; both retaine the maine of the Language, and in few yeares, haue those who subdued them, vndistinguishably theirs. For notwithstanding the former Conquest by the *Danes*, and now this by the *Norman* (the solide bodie of the Kingdome, still consisted of the *English*) and the accession of strange people, was but as riuers to the Ocean, that changed not it, but were changed into it. And though the King laboured that he could to turne all to *French*, *By enioyning their Children heere to vse no other Language with their* Grammer *in schooles*, *to haue the Lawes practized in* French, *all petitions and businesse of Court in* French, *No man graced but hee that spake* French, yet soone after his dayes, all returnes naturall English againe (but Law) and that still held forraine, and became in the ende wholly to be inclosed in that Language : nor haue we now, other marke of our subiection and invassalage from *Normandie*, but onely that, and that still speakes *French* to vs in *England*.

And herewithall, *New Termes*, *new Constitutions*, *new Formes of Pleas*, *new Offices*, *and Courts*, are now introduced by the *Normans*, a people more invred to litigation, and of spirits more impatient, and contentious, then were the *English* : who (by reason of their continuall warre, wherein Law is not borne, and labour to defend the publicke) were more at vnitie in their priuate : and that small time of peace they had, Deuotion, and good fellowship entertained. For their Lawes and Constitutions before, wee see them plaine, briefe, and simple, without perplexities, hauing neither fold nor pleite, commanding ; not disputing : Their grants and transactions as

briefe and simple, which showed them a cleere-meaning people, retayning still the nature of that plaine realnesse they brought with them, vncomposed of other fashion then their owne, and vnaffecting imitation.

The English trials in cases Criminall.—Men of ability cleered by their Oathes.—And for their tryals (in cases Criminall) where manifest proofe failed, they continued their auncient Custome, held from before their Christianitie (vntill this great alteration) which trials they called *Ordeal*, Or (*signifying*) *Right*, Deale, *Parte, whereof they had these kinds:* Ordeal *by fire, which was for the better sort, & by water for the inferiour: That of Fire, was to goe blindfold ouer certaine plough shares, made red hote, and laide an vneuen distance one from another. That of Water was either of hote, or cold: in the one to put their armes to the elbow, in the other to bee cast headlong.* According to their escapes or hurts, they were adiudged: *Such as were cast into the riuers, if they sanke were held guiltlesse, if not, culpable, as eiected by that Element.* These tryals they called *the iudgements of God, and they were performed with solemne Oraisons.* In some cases, *the accused was admitted to cleere himselfe by receiuing the Eucharist, or by his owne Oath, or the Oathes of two or three;* but this was for especiall persons, and such, whose liuings were of a rate allowable thereunto, the vsuall opinion perswading them, that men of ability held a more regard of honesty.

The English trials.—With these, they had *the triall of Campefight, or single combat* (which likewise the *Lumbards*, originally of the same *German* Nation, brought into *Italy*) *permitted by the Law, in cases either of safety, and fame, or of possessions.* All which trials, shew them to be ignorant in any other forme of Law, or to neglect it; Nor would they bee induced to forgoe these Customes, and determine their affaires by Imperiall or Pontificiall Constitutions, no more then would the *Lumbards* forsake their duellary Lawes in *Italy*, which their Princes (against some of their wils) were constrayned to ratifie, as *Luytprendus*

their King, thus ingeniously confesses: *Wee are vncertaine of the iudgment of God, and we haue heard many by fight, to haue lost their cause, without iust cause; yet in respect of the Custome of our Nation, we cannot auoyde an impious Law.* But all these Formes of iudgments and trialls, had their seasons: Those of Fire and Water, in short time after the Conquest, grew dis-vsed, and in the end vtterly abrogated by the Pope; as deriued from Paganisme: That of Combate continues longer-liued, but of no ordinary vse: And all actions now, both criminall and reall, beganne to be wholly adiudged by the verdict of twelue men, according to the custome of *Normandy*, where the like forme is vsed, and called by the name of *Enquest*, with the same cautions for the Iurors, as it is heere continued to this day. Although some holde opinion that this forme of triall, was of vse in this Kingdome from all Antiquity, and alledge an Ordinance of King *Ethelred (Father to the Confessor) willing in their Gemote or conuentions, monethly held in every Hundred, twelue graue men of free condition, should with the* Greue, *the Chiefe Officer amongst them, sweare vpon the Euangelists, to iudge every mans cause aright.* But here we see twelue men were to be assessors with the *Greue* to judge, and no Iurors, according to this manner of triall now vsed; Besides, had there beene any such forme, we should aswell haue heard thereof in their Lawes and practise, as of those other kinds of *Ordeall*, onely, and vsually mentioned.

The continuation of the Law for the peace.—The Borough Law of the Saxons.—But whatsoever innovations were in all other things; the gouernment of the peace and security of the Kingdome (which most imported the King to looke vnto) seemes to bee continued as before, and for that businesse hee found heere better Lawes established, by the wary care of our former Kings, then any he could bring. Amongst which especially was *the Borough Law, whereby euery free man of the Commons stood as surety for each others behaviour, in this sort.*

Saxon Lawes.—The Kingdome was deuided into Shieres

or Shares, euery Shiere consisting of so many Hundreds, and euery Hundred of a number of Boroughs, Villages, or Tythings, contayning ten housholders, whereof; *If any one should commit an vnlawfull act, the other nine were to attach and bring him to reason: If he fled, thirty one dayes were enioyned him to appeare: If in the meane time apprehended, he was made to restore the damage done; otherwise the Free-boroughead (to say the Tything-man) was to take with him two of the same Village, and out of three other Villages next adioyning as many (that is, the Tything-man, and two other of the principall men) and before the Officers of that Hundred, purge himselfe and the Village of the fact, restoring the damage done with the goods of the malefactor; which, if they suffized not to satisfie, the Free-borough, or Tything, must make vp the rest, and besides take an oath to be no way accessary to the fact; and to produce the Offendor, if by any meanes they could recouer him, or know where he were. Besides, euery Lord and Maister, stood* Borough *for all his Family, whereof, if any seruant were called in question, the Maister was to see him answere it in the Hundred, where he was accused. If he fled, the Maister was to yeeld such goods as he had to the King. If himselfe were accused to be ayding or priuie to his seruants flight, he was to cleare himselfe by fiue men, otherwise to forfeit all his goods to the King, and his man to be out-lawed.* (*Lambert.*)

No popular insurrection before the Conquest.—The meanes vsed by the *Norman*, to establish his Conquest.—These linckes thus intermutually fastened, made so strong a chayne to hold the whole Frame of the State together in peace and order, as, all the most pollitique regiments vppon Earth, all the inter-leagued Societies of men, cannot shew vs a streighter Forme of combination. This might make the Conquerour, comming vpon a people (thus Law-bound hand and foote) to establish him, so soone, and easily as hee did; This *Borough-law* (being as a Cittadell, built to guard the Common-wealth comming to bee possest by a Conquering Maister) was made

to turne all this Ordinance vpon the State, and batter her selfe with her owne weapon: and this Law may bee some cause, we finde no popular insurrection before the Conquest. For had not this people bene bound with these Fetters, and an idle peace (but had liued loose, and in action) it is like they would haue done as nobly, and giuen as many, and as deepe wounds ere they lost their Country, as euer the *Brittains* did, either against the *Romans*, or the *Saxons*, their predecessours, or themselues had done against the *Danes*; a people farre more powerfull, and numerous then these. The Conquerour, without this, had not made it the worke of one day, nor had *Normandy* euer bin able to haue yeelded those multitudes for supplies, that many battailes must haue had.

Alteration of the Gouernment.—But now. *First, the executing this Law. Secondly, dis-weaponing the Commons. Thirdly, preuenting their night-meetings with a heauy penalty, that euery man at the day closing, should couer his fire, and depart to his rest. Fourthly, erecting diuers Fortresses in fit parts of the Kingdome. Fifthly, collating al offiees, both of command and iudicature, on those who were his;* made his domination such as he would haue it.

And where before the Bishop and the Alderman were the absolute Iudges to determine all businesse in euery Shiere, and the Bishop in many cases shared in the benifits of the Mulcts with the King, now he confined the Clergy, within the Prouince of their own Ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, to deale onely in busines concerning rule of soules, according to the Cannons, and Lawes Episcopall.

The order of deciding controuersies in the Saxons time.—New orders instituted by the *Normans*.—And whereas the causes of the Kingdome were before determined in euery Shire, and by a Law of King *Edward* Senior, all matters in question should, vpon especiall penalty, without further deferment, be finally decided in their *Gemote*, or conuentions held monthly in euery hundred: now he ordained. *That*

foure times in the yeare, for certaine dates, the same businesses should be determined in such place as he would appoynt, where hee constituted Iudges to attend for that purpose, and others, from whom, as from the bosome of the Prince, al litigators should haue Iustice, and from whom was no appeale. Others he appointed for the punishment of malefactors, called *Iusticiarij Pacis.*

The alteration of Tenures.—The Tenure of *Gauelkin.*—The customs of *Kent* preserued by the mediation of the Archbishop *Stigand.*—What alteration was then made in the tenure of mens possessions, or since introduced, wee may finde by taking note of their former vsances. *Our Ancestours had onely two kindes of tenures,* Boke-land, *and* Folk-land, *the one a possession by writing, the other without. That by writing was a free-hold, and by Charter, hereditary, with all immunities, and for the free and nobler sort.* (*Lambert:* Freehold.) *That without writing, was to hold at the will of the Lord, bound to rents and seruices, and was for the rurall people. The inheritances descended not alone, but after the* German *manner, equally deuided amongst al the children, which they called* Land-skiftan, *to say,* Part-land, *a custome yet continued in some places of* Kent, *by the name of* Gauel-kin, *of* Gif eal kin: And hereupon some write how the people of that Country, retayned their ancient lawes and liberties, by especiall graunt from the Conquerour, who after his battaile at *Hastings,* comming to *Douer,* to make all sure on that side, was incompassed by the whole people of that Prouince, carrying boughes of trees in their hands, and marching round about him like a moouing wood. With which strange and sodaine shew being much mooued, the Arch-bishop *Stigand,* and the Abbot *Egelfin* who had raised this commotion by shewing the people in what daunger they were, vtterly to loose their liberties, and to indure the perpetuall misery of seruitude, (vnder the domination of strangers) present themselues, and declared, *How they were the vniuersall people of that Country, gathered together in that manner with boughes in their hands, either as Oliue branches of*

intercession, for peace and liberty, or, to intangle him in his passage, with resolution rather to leaue their liues, then that which was deerer, their freedome. Whereuppon they say the Conquerour granted them the continuation of their former Customes and Liberties: whereof, notwithstanding they now retaine no other, then such as are common with the rest of the Kingdome.

Villinage (*Geruasius Tilburiensis. Dialog Scacc.*).—For such as were Tenants at the will of their Lords (which now growne to a greater number, and more miserable then before) vppon their petition and compassion of their oppression hee releeued, their case was this. All such as were discouered to haue had a hand in any rebellion, and were pardoned, onely to enioy the benefit of life, hauing all their liuely-hood taken from them, became vassals vnto those Lords to whom the possessions were giuen, of all such lands forfeited by attaindors. And if by their diligent seruice, they could attaine any portion of ground, they held it but onely so long as it pleased their Lords, without hauing any estate for themselues, or their children, and were oftentimes violently cast out vppon any small displeasure, contrary to all right: whereuppon it was ordained, that whatsoeuer they had obtained of their Lords, by their obsequious seruice, or agreed for by any lawfull pact, they should hold by an inuiolable Law, during their owne liues.

A suruey made of the Kingdome.—The next great worke after the ordering his Lawes, was the raising and disposing of his reuennues, taking a course to make, and know the vtmost of his estate, by a generall suruey of his Kingdome, whereof hee had a president by the *Dome* booke of *Winchester*, taken before by King *Alfred*. But as one day informes another, so these actions of profit grew more exact in their after practise: and a larger Commission is granted, a choyce of skilfuller men imployed, to take the particulars both of his owne possessions, and euery mans else in the Kingdome, the nature and the quality of their lands, their estates, and abilities; besides the

discriptions, bounds, and diuisions of Shieres, and Hundreds, and this was drawne into one booke, and brought into his treasury, then newly called the Exchequer (according to the soueraigne Court of that name of *Normandy*) before termed here *Taleè*, and it was called the *Dome* booke (*Liber iudicarius*) for all occasions concerning these particulars. (*Geruasius Tilburiensis. de Scacc. Dome* booke.)

The new Forest in *Hampshire*.—All the Forrests and Chases of the Kingdome, hee seized into his owne possession; and exempted them from being vnder any other Law then his owne pleasure, to serue as *Penetralia Regnum*, the withdrawing Chambers of Kings, to recreate them after their serious labours in the State, where none other might presume to haue to doe, and where all punishments and pardons of delinquents were to be disposed by himselfe, absolutely, and all former customes abrogated. And to make his command the more, hee increased the number of them in all parts of the Land, and on the South coast dis-peopled the Country for aboue thirty miles space, making of old inhabited possessions, a new Forrest, inflicting most seuere punishments for hunting his Deere, and thereby much aduances his reuennues. An act of the greatest concussion, and tyranny, he committed in his reigne, and which purchased him much hatred. And the same course held (almost euery King neere the Conquest) till this heauey grieuance was allayed by the Charter of Forrests, granted by *Henry* the third. (*Ibid.*)

He imposed no new taxations.—The occasion of paying *Escuage*.—The Custome of Fifes.—Besides these, he imposed no new taxations on the State, and vsed those hee found very moderately, as *Danegelt*, an imposition of two shillings vpon euery hide or ploughland (raised first by King *Ethelred*, to bribe the *Danes*, after to warre vpon them) he would not haue it made an annuall payment, but onely taken vppon vrgent occasion, and it was seldome gathered in his time, or his successors (saith *Geruasius*) yet wee finde in our Annals, a taxe of sixe shillings

vpon euery hide-land, leauied presently after the generall suruey of the Kingdome. *Escuage* (whether it were an imposition formerly layd, though now newly named, I do not finde) was a summe of mony, taken of euery knights Fee: In after times, especially raised for the seruice of *Scotland*; And this also, saith *Geruasius*, was seldome leauied but on great occasion, for stipends, and donatiues to souldiers: yet was it at first a due, reserued out of such lands as were giuen by the Prince for seruice of warre; according to the Customes of other Nations. As in the *Romans* time we finde Lands were giuen in reward of seruice to the men of warre, for terme of their liues, as they are at this day in *Turkey*. After they became patrimonial, and hereditary to their Children. *Seuerus* the Emperour was the first who permitted the children of men of warre, to inioy their Fifes, prouided that they followed armes. *Constantine* to reward his principall Captaines, granted them a perpetuity in the Lands assigned them. The estates which were but for life, were made perpetuall in *France*, vnder the last kings of the race of *Charlemaine*. Those Lords who had the great Fifes of the king, sub-diuided them to other persons, of whom they were to haue seruice.

By what meanes hee increased his Reuenues.—The Law for Murther renued, first made by King *Knute*.—Mulctuary profits, besides, such as might arise by the breach of his Forrest-lawes, hee had, few or none new, vnlesse that of Murther, which arose vppon this occasion. In the beginning of his reigne, the rankor of the English towards the new-come *Normans*, was such, as finding them single in woods, or remote places, they secretly murthered them; and the deed doers (for any the seuerest courses taken) could neuer bee discouered: Whereupon, it was ordained, that the Hundred, wherein a *Norman* was found slaine, and the murtherer not taken, should be condemned to pay to the King, some 36. pounds, some 28. pounds, according to the quantity of the Hundred, that the punishment, being generally inflicted, might particularly deter

them, and hasten the discouery of the Malefactor, by whom so many must (otherwise) be interessed.

King *William* seazed vppon the Treasure committed to Monasteries.—For his prouisionary reuenues, he continued the former custome held by his Predecessors, which was in this manner. (Geruasius Tilb.) The Kings Tenants, who held the Lands of the Crowne, payd no money at all; but onely Victualls, Wheate, Beifes, Muttons, Hay, Oates, &c: And a iust note of the quality and quantitie of euery mans ratement was taken throughout all the Shieres of the Kingdome, and leauied euer certaine, for the maintenance of the Kings House. Other ordinary In-come of ready moneys was there none, but what was raysed by mulcts, and out of Cities and Castles where Agriculture was not vsed. What the Church yeelded him, was by extent of a power that neuer reached so farre before; and the first hand, he laid vpon that side which weighed heauily, was his seazing vpon the Plate, Iewels, and Treasure within all the Monasteries of *England*, pretending the Rebels and their assistants, conueyed their riches into these religious houses (as into places priviledged and free from seazure) to defraud him thereof.

Besides this, he made all Bishoprickes, and Abbeys that held Barronies (before that time free from all secular seruices) contributarie to his Warres, and his other occasions. And this may be the cause why they, who then onely held the Pen (the Scepter, that rules ouer the memorie of Kings) haue laid such an eternall imposition vpon his name, of rigour, oppression, and euen barbarous immanitie, as they haue done. When the nature and necessary disposition of his affayres, (being as he was) may aduocate for him, and in many things much excuse his courses. But this name of Conquest, which euer imports violence and miserie, is of so harsh a sound, and so odious in nature, as a people subdued cannot giue a Conquerour his due (how euer worthie,) and especiallie to a stranger, whom onely time must naturalize, and incorporate by

degrees, into their liking and opinion. And yet therein this King was greatly aduantaged, by reason of his twenty yeares gouernment, which had much impaired the Memory of former Customes in the yonger sort, and well invred the elder to the present vsances and forme of State, whereby the rule was made more easie to his sons: who (though they were farre inferiour to him in worth) were somewhat better beloued, then he; and the rather, for that their occasions made them, somewhat to vnwrest the Soueraignty from that height, whereunto hee had strayned it.

His Councellors.—The Bishop of *Bayeux* as an Earle of *Kent*, committed to Prison.—How hee was vnderset with able Ministers for the managing of these great affaires of his, though time hath shut vs out from the knowledge of some of them (it beeing in the Fortune of Kings, to haue their Ministers like Riuers in the Ocean, buried in their glory) yet no doubt, being of a strong constitution of Iudgement, he could not but be strongly furnished in that kind: for weake Kings haue euer weake sides, and the most renowned Princes are alwaies best stored with able Ministers. The principall of highest imploiment, were *Odon*, Bishop of *Bayeux*, and Earle of *Kent: Lanfranc* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *William Fitz Auber*, Earle of *Hereford: Odon* supplied the place of Viceroy in the Kings absence, and had the management of the Treasurie. A man of a wide and agile spirit, let out into as spacious a conceipt of greatnesse, as the heighth of his place could shew him: And is rumored by the infinite accumulation of money (which his auarice and length of office had made) either to buy the Popedome, or to purchase the people of *England* vpon the death of the King his brother: who (vnderstanding hee had a purpose of going to *Rome*, and seeing a mighty confluence of Followers gathering vnto him) made a close prison stay his iourney: excusing it to the Church, that hee imprisoned not a Bishop of *Bayeux*, but an Earle of *Kent*, an Officer accomptant vnto him. Yet,

vpon his death-bed shortly following (after many obsecrations, that hee would, in respect of blood and nature, be a kind mean for the future peace of his sons) he released him.

Reserued for greater mischiefe.—But the Bishop failed his request therein, and became the onely kindle-fire to set them all into more furious combustion. The motiue of his discontent (the engine wherewith all Ambition euermore turnes about her intentions) was the enuy hee bare to *Lanfranc*, whose counsell, in his greatest Affaires, the King especially vsed: and to oppose and ouer-beare him, he tooke all the contrary courses, and part with *Robert*, his Nephew, whom (after many fortunes) hee attended to the holy Warre, and dyed in the siedge of *Antioch*.

Lanfranc.—Lanfranc was a man of as vniuersall goodnesse, as learning, borne in *Lombardy*, and came happily a stranger, in these strange times to do good to *England*; vpon whose obseruance, though the King might (in regard he raised him) lay some tye, yet his affections could not but take part with his piety and place: in so much as he feared not to oppose against *Odon* the Kings brother, seeking to gripe from the State of his Church: and in all he could, stood so betweene the Kingdome and the Kings rigor, as stayed many precipitious violences, that he (whose power lay as wide as his will) might else haue fallen into. For the Conqueror (howsoeuer austere to others) was to him alwayes milde and yeelding, as if subdued with grauity and vertue.

The Reformation of the Clergy by *Lanfranc.*—Hee reformed the irregularity, and rudenesse of the Clergy, introducing a more Southerne formality and respect, according to his breeding, and the Custome of his Country: concurring herein likewise to bee an Actor of alteration (though in the best kinde) with this change of State. And to giue entertaynment to deuotion, he did all he could to furnish his Church with the most exquisite ornaments might bee procured: added a more State and conueniency to the structure of religious

houses, and beganne the Founding of Hospitals. Hauing long struggled, with indefatigable labour, to hold things in an euen course, during the whole Reigne of this busie new State. building King, and after his Death, seeing his Successour in the Crowne (established especially by his meanes) to fayle his expectation; out of the experience of worldly causes, diuining of future mischiefes by present courses, grew much to lament (with his Friends) the teadiousnesse of life, which shortly after hee mildly left, with such a sicknesse, as neither hindred his speech nor memory: a thing hee would often desire of God.

William Fitz Auber Earle of *Hereford*, made Lawes in his Prouince.—*William Fitz Auber* (as is deliuered) was a principall Counsellor and instrument in this action for *England*; wherein he furnished forty ships at his owne charge. A man of great meanes, yet of a heart greater, and a hand larger then any meanes would well suffice. His profuse liberalities to men of armes, gaue often sharpe offence to the King, who could not indure any such improuident expences. Amongst the Lawes hee made (which shewes the power these Earles then had in their Prouinces) hee ordayned, *That in the County of* Hereford, *no man of war (or souldier) should bee fined for any offence whatsoeuer aboue seauen shillings*; when in other Countries, vpon the least occasion of disobeying their Lords will, they were forced to pay 20. or 25. shil. But his estate seeming to beare no proportion with his minde, and enough it was not to be an eminent Earle, an especiall Counsellor in all the affaires of *England* and *Normandy*, a chiefe Fauorite to so great a Monarch, but that larger hopes drew him away; designing to marry *Richeld*, Countesse Dowager of *Flanders*, and to haue the gouernement of that Country, during the non-age of *Arnulph* her son; of whom, with the King of *France*, hee had the tutelary charge committed by *Baldouin* the sixth, Father to *Arnulph*; whose estate *Robert le Frison* his vnckle (called by the people to the gouernment, vpon the exactions inflicted

on them by *Richeld*) had vsurped. And against him *Fitz Auber* opposing, was with *Arnulph* surprized and slaine.

The death of *William* the first.—And this was in the Fate of the Conqueror, to see most of all these great men, who had beene the especiall Actors in all his Fortunes, spent and extinct before him; As *Beaumont*, *Monfort*, *Harcourt*, *Hugh de Gourney*, *Vicount Neele*, *Hugh de Mortimer*, *Conte de Vannes*, *&c.* And now himselfe, after his being brought sicke to *Rouan*, and there disposing his estate, ended also his act in the 74. yeare of his age, and the one and twenty of his Reigne.

His Corpes lay vnburied three dayes.—His interment hindred. —Three dayes the Corpes of this great Monarch is sayd to haue laine neglected, while his seruants attending to imbeasle his moueables: in the end, his yongest sonne *Henry*, had it conueyed to the Abbey of *Cane*; where first at the entry into the Towne, they who carried the Corpes, left it alone, and ran all to quench a house on fire: Afterward brought to be intombed, a Gentleman stands forth, and in sterne manner, forbids the interment in that place, claiming the ground to bee his Inheritance, descended from his Ancestors, and taken from him at the building of that Abbey; appealing to *Row*, their first Founder, for Iustice: Whereupon, they were faine to compound with him for an Annuall rent. Such adoe had the body of him after death (who had made so much in his life) to be brought to the earth; and of all he attayned, had not now a roome to contayne him, without being purchased at the hand of another, men esteeming a liuing Dog more then a dead Lyon.

His Issue.—He had a faire Issue by *Maude* his wife, foure sons, and six daughters. To *Robert* his eldest, he left the Dutchy of *Normandy*: to *William* the third son, the Kingdome of *England*: to *Henry* the yongest, his treasure, with an annuall pension to bee payd him by his Brother. *Richard* who was his second son, and his darling, a Prince of great hope, was

slaine by a Stagge hunting in the new Forrest, and began the fatalnesse that followed in that place, by the death of *William* the second, there slaine with an arrow; and of *Richard* the son of *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, who brake his necke.

His eldest daughter *Cicile*, became a Nun; *Constance* married to the Earle of *Brittain*; *Adula* to *Stephen* Earle of *Bloys*, who likewise rendred her selfe a Nun in her age; such was then their deuotion, and so much were these solitary retires, affected by the greatest Ladies of those times: *Gundred* married to *William de Warrein*, the first Earle of *Surrey*, the other two, *Ela* or *Adeliza* and *Margaret* dyed before marriage.

The description of *William* the first.—Now, what hee was in the circle of himselfe in his owne continent, wee finde him of an euen stature, comely personage, of good presence, riding, sitting or standing, till his corpulency increasing with age, made him somewhat vnweildy, of so strong a constitution, as he was neuer sickly till a few moneths before his death. His strength such, as few men could draw his Bow, and being about 50. of his age, when he subdued this Kingdome, it seemes by his continuall actions, hee felt not the weight of yeares vpon him till his last yeare.

What was the composition of his mind; wee see it (the fairest) drawne in his actions, and how his abilities of Nature, were answerable to his vndertakings of Fortune, as pre-ordayned for the great worke hee effected. And though hee might haue some aduantage of the time, wherein wee often see men preuaile more by the imbecility of others, then their owne worth; yet let the season of that world be well examined, and a iust measure taken of his actiue vertues, they will appeare of an exceeding proportion: Nor wanted he those incounters and concurrences of sufficient able Princes, to put him to the triall thereof: Hauing on one side the *French* to grapple withall; on the other the *Danes*, farre mightier in people and shipping then himselfe, strongly sided in this Kingdome, as eger to

recouer their former footing here, as euer, and as well or better prepared.

His deuotion and mercy.—But one Noble man executed in all the time of this Kings Reigne.—For his deuotion and mercy, the brightest Starres in the Spheare of Maiesty, they appeare aboue all his other vertues, and the due obseruation of the first, the Clergy (that loued him not) confesse: the other was seene, in the often pardoning, and receiuing into grace, those (who rebelled against him) as if hee held submission satisfactory, for the greatest offence, and sought not to defeit men, but their enterprizes: For wee finde but one Noble-man executed in all his Reigne, and that was the Earle *Waltheof*, who had twice falsified his Faith before: And those he held Prisoners in *Normandy*, as the Earles *Morchar* and *Syward*, with *Wolnoth*, the brother of *Harold*, and others (vpon compassion of their indurance) he released a little before his death.

Besides, hee was as farre from suspition, as cowardize, and of that confidence (an especiall note of his Magnanimity) as hee gaue *Edgar* his Competitor in the Crowne, the liberty of his Court: And (vpon his suite) sent him well furnisht to the holy Warre, where he nobly behaued himselfe, and attayned to great estimation, with the Emperours of *Greece* and *Almaine*, which might haue beene held dangerous, in respect of his alliances that way, being grand-child to the Emperour *Henry* the third. But these may be as well vertues of the Time, as of Men, and so the age must haue part of this commendation.

His workes of Piety.—He was a Benefactor to nine Abbeyes of Monkes, and one of Nunnes, founded by his Predecessors in *Normandy*, and during his owne time were founded in the same Prouince, seauen Abbeyes of Monkes and sixe of Nunnes; with which Fortresses (as he sayd) he furnisht *Normandy*, to the end men might therein fight against the flesh, and the Diuell. In *England* he Founded a goodly Abbey, where he fought his first Battell, whereof it had the Denomination, and two Nunneries, one at *Hinching-brooke* in *Huntingdon-shiere*,

and the other at *Armthewt* in *Cumberland*, besides his other publique workes.

Magnificent he was in his Festiuals, which with great solemnity and Ceremony (the formall entertayners of reuerence and respect) be duly obserued: Keeping his *Christmas* at *Glocester*, his *Easter* at *Winchester*, and *Pentecost* at *Westminster*: whither he summoned his whole Nobility; that Embassadors and strangers might see his State and largenesse. Nor euer was he more milde and indulgent, then at such times. And these Ceremonies his first Successor obserued; but the second omitted.

The end of the Life, and Reigne of William the first.

The Life and Reigne of William the second.

1087. *Anno Reg.* 1. *William* the second resumes his owne Grants.

William the Second, Sonne to *William* the First, not attending his Fathers Funerall, hasts into *England* to recouer the Crowne, where (by the especiall mediation of the Arch-bishop *Lanfranc*, his owne large bounty, and wide promises) he obtayned it, according to his Fathers will; to whom by his obsequiousnesse hee had much indeared himselfe, especially after the abdication of his elder brother *Robert*. Hee was a Prince more gallant then good, and hauing beene bred with the Sword, alwayes in action, and on the better side of Fortune, was of a Nature rough and haughty, whereunto, his youth and Soueraignty added a greater wildenesse. Comming to succeed in a Gouernment, fore-ruled by Mature and graue Councell, hee was so ouer-whelmed with his Fathers worth and greatnesse, as made him appeare of a lesser Orbe then otherwise he would haue done. And then

the shortnesse of his Reigne, being but of thirteene yeares; allowed him not time to recouer that opinion, which the errors of first gouernment had lost, or his necessities caused him to commit. For the succession in right of *Primogeniture*, being none of his, and the elder brother liuing: howsoeuer his Fathers will was, hee must now be put, and held in possession of the Crowne of *England*, by the Will of the Kingdome; which to purchase (must be) by large conditions of releeuements in generall, and profuse gifts in particular. Wherein he had the more to doe, beeing to deale with a State consisting of a two-fold body, and different temperaments (where any inflammation of discontent, was the more apt to take,) hauing a head whereto it might readily gather. Which made, that vnlesse hee would lay more to their hopes then another, hee could not hope to haue them firmely his. And therefore seeing the best way to win the *Normans*, was by money; and the *English*, with liberties, hee spared not at first, to bestow on the one, and to promise the other, more then befitted his estate and dignity; which, when afterward failing, both in supplies (for great giuers must alwayes giue) and also in performances, got him farre more hatred then otherwise hee could euer haue had, being forced to all dishonorable shifts for raysing moneys that could bee deuised, and euen to resume his owne former grants.

Robert of Normandy borrowes summes of his brother *Henry* to purchase the Kingdome of *England*.—And to begin at first to take the course to be euer needy, presently after his Coronation, he goes to *Winchester*, where his Fathers Treasure lay, and empties out all that; which, with great prouidence, was there amassed: whereby, though he wonne the loue of many, hee lost more, beeing not able to content all. And now although his brother *Robert* had not (this great engine) money, hee had to giue hopes; and there were heere of the *Normans*, as *Odon* his Vnckle, *Roger de Mongomery* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, with others, who were mainely for him, and worke he doth all he can, to batter his brothers fortunes, vpon their

first foundation. And for this purpose borrowes great summes of his younger brother *Henry* (to whom the Father and the Mother had left much treasure) and for the same ingages the Country of *Constantine*, and leauies an army for *England*. But *William* newly inuested in the Crowne, though well prepared for all assaults, had rather purchase a present peace (by mediation of the Nobles on both sides) till time had better setled him in his gouernment then to raise spirits that could not easily bee allayed. And an agreement betweene them is wrought, that *William* should hold the Crowne of *England* during his life, paying to *Robert* three thousand Markes *Per annum*.

Robert hauing closed this businesse, resumes by force the Country of *Constantine* out of his brother *Henries* hands, without discharge of those summes ; for which hee had ingaged it. Whereupon King *William* vpbraydes *Henry* (with the great gaine hee had made by his vsury) in lending mony to depriue him of his Crowne. And so *Henry* got the hatred of both his brothers, and hauing no place safe from their danger where to liue ; surprized the Castle of Mount Saint *Michel*, fortifies him therein, gets ayde of *Hugh* Earle of *Brittaine*, and for his mony was serued with *Brittaines*, who committed great spoyles, in the Countryes of *Constantine* and *Bessin*.

Odon for malice to *Lanfranc*, seekes to distract the Kings forces.—The King vnderworkes his enemies, by releeuing the doleances, and granting former freedomes to the English.—*Odon*, Bishop of *Bayeux*, returning into *England*, after his imprisonment in *Normandy*, and restored to his Earldome of *Kent*, finding himselfe so farre vnder what hee had beene, and *Lanfranc* his concurrent, now the onely man in counsell with the King, complots with as many *Norman* Lords as hee found, or made to affect change, and a new maister, and sets them on worke in diuers parts of the Realme, to distract the Kings Forces : as first *Geffery* Bishop of *Constans* : with his

Nephew *Robert de Moubray* Earle of *Northumberland*, fortifie themselues in *Bristow*, and take in all the Country about: *Roger de Bigod*, made himselfe strong in *Northfolke*: *Hugh de Grandemeuill* about *Lecister*: *Roger de Mongomery* Earle of *Shrewsbury* with a power of *Welshmen*, and other thereabout, sets out accompanied with *William* Bishop of *Durham*, *Bernard de Newmarch*, *Roger Lacie*, and *Ralph Mortimer* all *Normans*, and assaile the Citty of *Worcester*, making themselues strong in those parts. *Odon* himselfe fortifies the Castle of *Rochester*, makes good all the Coast of *Kent*, solicits *Robert* to vse what speede hee could to come with all his power out of *Normandy*: which had hee done in time, and not giuen his brother so large oppertunity of preuention, hee had carried the Kingdome; but his delay yeelds the King time to confirme his Friends, vnder-worke his enemies, and make himselfe strong with the *English*, which hee did by granting relaxation of tribute, with other releiuements of their doleances, and restoring them to their former freedom of hunting in all his woods and Forrests, a thing they much esteemed; whereby hee made them so strongly his, as soone hee brake the necke of all the *Norman* conspiracies (they being egar to reuenge them of that Nation) and heere they learned first to beate their Conquerors, hauing the faire aduantage of this action, which cut the throates of many of them.

1088. *Anno Reg.* 2.—*Mongomery*, being won from his complices, and the seuerall conspirators in other parts represt, the King comes with an Army into *Kent*, where the head of the Faction lay, and first wonne the Castle of *Tunbridge*, and that of *Pemsey*, which *Odon* was forced to yeeld, and promise to cause those which defended that of *Rochester*, which were *Eustace* Earle of *Bologne*, and the Earle of *Mortaigne*, to render likewise the same. But beeing brought thither to effect the businesse, they within, receiuing him, detained him, as hee pretended, prisoner, and held out stoutly against the King vpon a false intelligence giuen of the arriuall of Duke *Robert*

at *Southampton*; but in the end they were forced to quit the place, and retire into *France*, and *Odon* to abiure *England*.

And to keepe off the like danger from hence, he transports his Forces into *Normandy*, there to waste and weaken his brother at home. So, as hee might hold him from any further attempts abroad for euer after. Where first hee obtaines Saint *Valery*, and after *Albemarle* with the whole Country of *Eu*, *Fescampe*, the *Abathie* of mount Saint *Michel*, *Cherburge*, and other places. *Robert* seekes ayde of *Phillip* King of *France*, who comes downe with an army, into *Normandy*, but ouercome with the power of mony wherewith King *William* assayled him, did him little good, and so retired.

1089. *Anno Reg.* 3. Duke *Robert* driuen to peace.—Whereupon Duke *Robert*, in the end, was driuen to a dishonorable peace, concluded at *Caen*, with these Articles. *First, that King* William *should hold the country of* Eu, Fescampe, *and all other places which hee had bought; and were deliuered vnto him, by* William *Earle of* Eu *and* Stephen *Earle of* Aumal, *sisters son to* William *the first. Secondly, he should aide the Duke to recouer al other peeces which belonged to his Father, and were vsurped from the Dutchy. Thirdly, that such* Normans, *as had lost their estates in* England, *by taking part with the Duke, should be restored thereunto. Fourthly, that the suruiuer of ether of them should succeed in the Dominions both of* England & Normandy.

1091. *Anno Reg.* 4. The Kings vndaunted valor.—After this peace made by the mediation of the King of *France*, whilst *William* had a strong Army in the field, Duke *Robert* requested his ayde against their brother *Henry*; who still kept him in the Fort of mount *Michel*, vpon his guard, holding it best for his safety: For being a Prince that could not subsist of himselfe (as an earthen vessell set amongst iron pots) he was euery way in danger to be crusht; and seeing he had lost both his brothers by doing the one a kindnesse, if he should haue tooke to either (their turne being serued) his owne might bee

in hazard; and so betooke him to this defence. Forty dayes the two Princes layde siedge to this Castle; And one day, as the King was alone on the shore, there sallies out of the Fort, a Company of horse; whereof three ran at him so violently, and all strooke his horse together with their Launces; as they brake pectorall, girses, and all, that the horse slips away, and leaues the King, and the saddle on the ground: the King takes vp the saddle with both hands, and therewith defends himselfe till rescue came; and being blamed by some of his people for putting himselfe thus in peril of his life to saue his saddle, answered: *It would haue angered him, the* Bretons *should haue bragged, they had wonne the saddle from vnder him, and how great an indignity it was, for a King to suffer inferiors to force anything from him.*

1092. *Anno Reg.* 5. The King and his two bretheren agreed. —In the end *Henry* grew to extreame want of drinke and water; although he had all other prouision sufficient within his Fort, and sends to Duke *Robert* that he might haue his necessity supplyed. The Duke sends him a Tun of wine, and grants him truce for a day to furnish him with water. Wherewith *William* being displeased, Duke *Robert* told him: *It was hard to deny a brother meate and drinke which craued it, and that if hee perisht, they had not a brother.* Wherewith *William* likewise relenting, they sent for *Henry*, and agrement is made: *That he should hold in morgage the country of* Constantine, *till the mony was payd, and a day appoynted to receiue it at* Rouen. Duke *Robert* commits his brother *Henry* to prison.—Which accord King *William* the rather wrought, to draw as much from *Robert* as hee might, whom by this voyage he not onely had wasted, but possest himselfe of a safe and continuall landing place, with a part of his Dutchy: and caused him to put from him, and banish out of *Normandy*; *Edgar Atheling*, whom *Robert* held his Pensioner, and as a stone in his hand, vpon all occasions to threaten *William* with anothers right, if his owne preuailed not: And besides, he wrought so,

as either through promise of mony, or some farther ratification to bee made here, hee brought his brother *Robert* with him ouer into *England*, and tooke him along in an expedition against *Malcolin*, who had incroched vpon his territories, during his absence. Which businesse being determined without battell, *Robert*, soone after returnes much discontented into *Normandy*, and as it seemes, without mony to satisfie his brother *Henry*. Who repairing to *Rouen* at a day appoynted, instead of receiuing it, was committed to prison, and before hee could bee released, forced to renounce the Country of *Constantine*, and sware neuer to claime any thing in *Normandy*.

1093. *Anno Reg.* 6.—*Henry* complaines of this grosse iniustice, to *Philip* King of *France*, who gaue him a faire entertainment in his Court. Where he remained not long, but that a Knight of *Normandy*, named *Hachard*, vndertaking to put him into a Fort (maugre his brother *Robert*) within the Dutchy; conueyed him disguised out of the Court, and wrought so, as the Castle *Dampfront* was deliuered vnto him: whereby shortly after, he got all the Country of *Passays*, about it, and a good part of *Constantine*, by the secret ayde of King *William*, *Richard de Riuieres*, and *Roger de Manneuile*.

Duke *Robert* leuies Forces, and eagarly wrought to recouer *Dampfront*, but finding how *Henry* was vnderset, inueighs against the perfidie of his brother of *England*: in so much as the flame of rancor burst out againe more then euer. And ouer passes, King *William* with a great army, but rather to terrifie, then to doe any great matter, as a Prince that did more contend then war: and would be great with the sword, yet seldome desired to vse it; if he could get to his ends by any other meanes, seeking rather to buy his peace then win it.

Many skirmishes interpassed, with surprizements of Castles, but in the end a treaty of peace was propounded: wherein to make his conditions, what he would; King *William* seemes hard to bee wrought, and makes the more shew of Force; sending

ouer into *England* for an Army of thirty thousand men, which being brought to the shoare, ready to bee shipped: an offer was made to bee proclaimed by his Lieuetenant, that giving ten shillings a man, whosoeuer would, might depart home to his dwelling; whereby was raised so much as discharged his expence, and serued to fee the King of *France*, vnder-hand, for his forbearing ayde to Duke *Robert*, who seeing himselfe left by the *French*, must needes make his peace as the other would haue it.

1094. *Anno Reg.* 7.—The King of *Scots* & his son *Edward* slaine, causes Queene *Margaret* to dy with griefe.—Now for his affaires at home, the vncertaine warres with *Wales* and *Scotland*, gaue him more businesse then honour. Beeing driven in the one to incounter with mountaines in stead of men, to the great losse and disaduantage of his people, and in the other with as many necessities. *Wales* he sought to subdue; *Scotland* so to restraine, as it might not hurt him. For the last, after much broyle, both Kings, seeming more willing to haue peace then to seeke it, are brought to an interuiew. *Malcolin* vpon publicke faith, and safe conduct, came to *Glocester*; where, vppon the haughtinesse of King *William*, looking to bee satisfied in all his demands, and the vnyeeldingnesse of King *Malcolin*, standing vppon his regality within his owne, though content to bee ordered for the confines, according to the iudgment of the Primate of both Kingdomes; nothing was effected, but a greater disdaine, and rankor in *Malcoline*, seeing himselfe despised, and scarce looked on by the King of *England*. So that vpon his returne armed with rage; hee raises an Army, enters *Northumberland*, which fouer times before he had depopulated; and now the fifth, seeking vtterly to destroy it, and to haue gone farther, was with his eldest sonne *Edward* slaine, rather by fraude then power of *Robert Mowbray* Earle of that Country: The griefe of whose deaths, gaue *Margaret*, that blessed Queene hers. (*Roger Houeden.*) After whom, the State elected *Dufnald*,

brother to *Malcolin*, and chased out all the *English*, which attended the Queene, and were harbored, or preferred by *Malcolin*. King *William* to set the line right, and to haue a King there which should bee beholding to his power, aides *Edgar*, the second son to *Malcolin* (who had serued him in his wars) to obtaine the Crowne due vnto him in right of succession: by whose meanes *Dafnald* was expeld, and the State receiued *Edgar*, but killed all the ayde hee brought with him out of *England*, and capitulated that hee should neuer more entertaine *English* or *Norman* in his seruice.

1095. *Anno Reg.* 7.—This businesse setled; *Wales* strugling for liberty, and reuenge, gaue new occasion of worke: whether hee went in person, with purpose to depopulate the Countrie: but they (retiring into the Mountaines and the Isle of *Anglesey*) auoyded the present fury. But afterward, *Hugh* Earle of *Shrewsbury*, and *Hugh* Earle of *Chester*, surprizing the Isle (their chiefest retreit) committing there barbarous examples of cruelty, by exœcations, and miserable dismembring the people; which immanity, was there suddenly auenged on the Earle of *Shrewsbury*, with a double death, first shot into the eye, and then tumbling ouer boord into the sea, to the sport and scorne of his enemy the King of *Norway*, who either by chance, or of purpose, comming vppon that coast from taking in the Orcades, encountred with him and that Force he had at sea.

These were the remote businesses, when a conspiracie breake out within the body of the Kingdome, complotted by *Richard Mowbray* Earle of *Northumberland*, *William d'Ou* and many others, which are sayd to *haue sought the destruction of the King and the aduancement of* Stephen *Earle of* Albemarle, *his Aunts sonne to the Crowne*; which gaue the King more trouble then danger: For by the speedy and maine prosecution of the businesse (wherein he vsed the best strength of *England*) it was soone ended, with the confusion of the vndertakers. But it wrought an ill effect in his Nature, by hardening the same to an extreame rigor: for after the feare was past, his wrath, and

cruelty were not; but (which is hideous in a Prince) they grew to bee numbred amongst incurable diseases.

The Earle was committed to the Castle of *Windsor*, *William d'Ou*, at a Councell at *Salisbury* being ouercome in Duell (the course of triall) had his eyes put out, and his priuy members cut off. *William de Alueric*, his Sewer, a man of goodly personage, and allyed vnto him, was condemned to be hanged: though *both in his confession to* Osmond *the Bishop there, and to all the people as he passed to his Execution*, he left a cleare opinion of his innocency, and the wrong he had by the King.

But now; whilst these fractures heere at home, the unrepayrable breaches abroad (were such) as could giue the King no longer assurednesse of quiet, then the attempters would: and that all the Christian World was out, eyther at discord amongst themselues, or in faction, by the schisme of the Church: Pope *Vrban*, assembling a generall Councell at *Cleirmont* in *Auergne*, to compose the affayres of Christendome, exhorted all the Princes thereof to ioyne themselues in Action, for the recouery of the Holy Land, out of the hands of Infidels. Which motion, by the zealous negotiations of *Peter* the Hermit of *Amiens*; tooke so generally (meeting with the disposition of an actiue, and religious world) as turned all that flame, which had else consumed each other at home, vpon vnknowne Nations that vndid them abroad.

Peter the Hermit gets 300000. men to recouer the Holy Land.—Such, and so great grew the heat of this action, made by the perswasion of the Iustice thereof, with the State and glory it would bring on earth, and the assurednesse of Heauen to all the pious vndertakers, that none were esteemed to containe any thing of worth, which would stay behind. Each giues hand to other to leade them along, and example addes number. The forwardnesse of so many great Princes, passing away their whole estates, and leauing all what the dearenesse of their Countrey contayned, drew to this warre 300000. men; all

which, though in Armes, passed from diuers Countries and Ports, with that quietnesse, as they seemed rather Pilgrimes, than Souldiers.

Godfrey of *Bouillon*, Nephew and Heire to the Duke of *Lorraine*, a Generous Prince, bred in the Warres of the Emperour *Henry* the Fourth, was the first that offered vp himselfe to this Famous Voyage; and with him his two Brothers, *Eustace* and *Baudouin*, by whose examples were drawne *Hugh le Grand*, Count *de Vermondois*, brother to *Phillip* King of *France*; *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, *Robert le Frison* Earle of *Flanders*; *Stephen* Earle of *Blois* and *Charters*; *Aimar* Bishop of *Puy*; *William* Bishop of *Orange*; *Raimond* Earle of *Tholouse*; *Baudouin* Earle of *Hainaut*: *Baudouin* Earle of *Rethel*; and *Garnier* Earle of *Gretz*; *Harpin* Earle of *Bourges*; *Ysoard* Earle of *Die*; *Rambaud* Earle of *Orange*; *Guillaum* Conte *de Forrests*; *Stephen* Conte *d'Aumaul*; *Hugh* Earle of S^t^. *Pol*; *Rotron* Earle of *Perche*, and others. These were for *France*, *Germany* and the Countries adioyning. *Italy* had *Bohemond* Duke of *Apulia*; and *England*, *Beauchampe* with others, whose names are lost; *Spaine* onely had none; beeing afflicted at that time with the *Sarazins*.

1097. *Anno Reg.* 10.—Most of all these Princes and great Personages to furnish themselues for this expedition, sold, or ingaged their possessions. *Godfrey* sold the Dutchy of *Bologne* to *Hubert* Bishop of *Liege*; and *Metz* to the Citizens: Besides, he sold the Castle of *Sarteny*, and *Monsa*, to *Richard* Bishop of *Verdun*; and to the same Bishop, *Baudouin* his brother sold the Earledome of *Verdun*. *Eustace* likewise sold all his liuely-hood to the Church: *Herpin* Earle of *Bourges*, his Earledome to *Phillip* King of *France*; and *Robert* morgaged his Dutchy of *Normandy*, the Earledome of *Maine*, and all hee had, to his brother King *William* of *England*. Whereby the Pope not onely weakned the Empire, with whom the Church had (to the great affliction of Christendome) held a long and bloody businesse, about the inuestitures of Bishops; tooke away and

infeebled his partisans, abated, as if by *Ostracisme*, the power of any Prince that might oppose him, but also aduanced the State Ecclesiasticall, by purchasing these great Temporalities (more honorable for the sellers then the buyers) vnto a greater meanes then euer. For by aduising the vndertakers, seeing their action was for CHRIST and his Church, rather to make ouer their estates to the Clergy, of whom they might againe redeeme the same, and be sure to haue the fairest dealing, then vnto Lay-men; hee effected this worke. VVhereby the third part of the best Fiefs in *France* came to be possest by the Clergy; and afterwards vpon the same occasion, many things more vnto them in *England*, especially when *Richard* the first vndertooke the voyage, who passed ouer diuers Mannors to *Hugh* Bishop of *Durham* (and also, for his money) created him Earle of *Durham*, as appeares in his life.

An Emperour of *Germany*, two Kings of *France* with their wiues, two Kings of *England*, and a King of *Norway* went all thither in person.—This humour was kept vp, and in motion almost 300. yeares, notwithstanding all the discouragements, by the difficulties in passing, the disasters there through contagion arising from a disagreeing clime; and the multitudes of indigent people, cast oftentimes into miserable wants. It consumed infinite Treasure, and most of the brauest men of all our VVest world, and especially *France*. For *Germany* and *Italy*, those who were the Popes friends, and would haue gone, were stayed at home by dispensation to make good his partie against the Emperour, who notwithstanding still strugled with him; but in the end, by this meanes the Pope preuailed. Yet these were not all the effects this voyage wrought: The Christians who went out to seeke an enemy in *Asia*, brought one thence: to the daunger of all Christendome, and the losse of the fairest part thereof. For this long keeping it in a Warre, that had many intermissions with fits of heates and coldnesses (as made by a league, consisting of seuerall Nations, emulous and vnconcurrent in their courses) taught such as were of an entire

body, their weaknesses, and the way to Conquer them. This was the great effect, this voyage wrought.

1099. *Anno Reg.* 12.—And by this meanes King *William* here was now ridde of an elder brother, and a Competitor; had the possession of *Normandy* during his reigne, and more absolutenesse, and irregularity in *England.* Where now, in making vp this great summe to pay *Robert*, he vsed all the extreame meanes could be deuised: as hee had done in all like businesses before. Whereby he incurred the hatred of his people in generall, and especially of the Clergy, being the first King which shewed his successors an euill precedent of keeping their Liuings vacant, and receiuing the profits of them himselfe, as he did that of *Canterbury*, foure yeares after the death of *Lanfranc*; and had holden it longer, but that being dangerously sicke at *Glocester*, the sixt yeare of his Reigne, his Clergie, in the weaknesse of his body, tooke to worke vpon his minde, so as he vowed, vpon his recouery to see all vacancies furnished; which he did, but with so great adoe, as shewed that hauing escaped the daunger hee would willingly haue deceiued the Saint: An *Anselme*, an *Italian* borne, though bred in *Normandy*, is in the end preferred to that Sea. But, what with his owne stiffenesse, and the Kings standing on his regalitie, he neuer enioyed it quietly vnder him. For betweene them two, began the first contestation about the inuestitures of Bishops, and other priuiledges of the Church, which gaue much to doe, to many of his successors. *Anselme* not yeelding to the Kings will, forsooke the Land; whereuppon his Bishopricke was re-assumed; and the King helde in his hands at one time, besides that of *Canterbury*, the Bishoprickes of *Winchester*, *Sarum*, and eleuen Abbeyes, whereof he tooke all the profits.

The Kings shew of religion.—Hee vsually sold all spirituall preferments to those would giue most, and tooke fines of Priests for Fornication: he vexed *Robert Bluet* Bishop of *Lincolne* in suite, till he paid him 5000. pounds. And now the

Clergy, vpon this taxe, complayning their wants, were answered, *That they had Shrines of gold in their Churches, and for so holy a worke as this warre against infidels, they should not spare them.* Hee also tooke money of Iewes, to cause such of them as were conuerted, to renounce Christianity, as making more benefit by their vnbeleefe, then their conuersion. Wherein hee discouered the worst peece of his nature, *Irreligion.*

The antiquity of Informers.—This *Ranulph* gaue a thousand pounds for his Bishopricke, and was the Kings Chancellor.—Profusion euer in want.—Besides his great taxations layd on the Layetie, he sets informers vpon them, and for small transgressions made great penalties. These were his courses for raysing moneys, wherein he fayled not of fit ministers to execute his Will, among whom was chiefe, *Ranulph* Bishop of *Durham*, whom he had corrupted with other bishops, to counterpoyse the Clergy, awe the Layety, and countenance his proceedings. All which meanes, he exhausted, eyther in his buildings (which were the new Castle vppon *Tine*, the City of *Carleil*, *Westminster-Hall*, and the walles of the Tower of *London*) or else in his prodigall gifts to strangers. Twice he appeased the King of *France* with money, and his Profusion was such, as put him euermore into extreame wants.

This one Act, shewes both his violence and magnanimity: As he was one day hunting, a Messenger comes in all haste out of *Normandy*, and tells him how the City of *Mans* was surprised by *Hely* Conte *de la Flesche* (who by his wife pretended right there vnto, and was ayded by *Fouques d'Angiers*, the ancient enemy to the Dukes of *Normandy*) and that the Castle which held out valiantly for him, was, without present succour, to be rendered. He sends backe the Messenger instantly, wills him to make all the speed he could, to signifie to his people in the Castle, that hee would be there within eight dayes, if Fortune hindred him not. And sudainely he askes of his people about him, which way *Mans* lay, and a *Norman* being by shewed him: Presently he turnes his

Horse towards that Coast, and in great haste rides on: when some aduised him to stay for fit prouisions, and people for his iourney, hee sayd; *They who loue me, will follow me.* And comming to imbarke at *Dartmouth*, the Maister told him the weather was rough, and there was no passing without eminent danger; *Tush*, sayd he, *set forward, I neuer yet heard of King that was drowned.*

By breake of day he arriued at *Harfleu*, sends for his Captaines and men of Warre to attend him all at *Mans*, whither hee came at the day appointed. Conte *de la Flesche*, hauing more right then power, after many skirmishes, was taken by a stratagem, and brought prisoner to *Rouen*; where, more inraged then dismayde with his fortune, he let fall these words; That had hee not beene taken with a wile, hee would haue left the King but little Land on that side the sea; and were hee againe at liberty, they should not so easily take him. Which being reported; the King sent for him, *Set him at libertie, gaue him a faire Horse, bad him goe his way, and doe his worst.* Which act ouercame the Conte more then his taking, and a quiet end was made betweene them. That he affected things of cost, euen in the smallest matters (is shewed) in the report of his finding fault with his seruants, which brought him a new payre of hose, whereof he demanding the price, was told how they cost three shillings: wherewith being angry, hee asked his seruant if that were a fit price of a payre of hose for a King, and willed him to goe presently and to buy those of a marke; which being brought him, though they were farre worse, yet he liked them much better in regard they were sayd to haue cost more. An example of the Weare of time, the humour of the Prince, and the deceipt of the seruant.

The King returnes into *England* with great iollity, as euer bringing home better fortune out of *Normandy*, then from any his Northerne expeditions: Feasts his Nobility with all Magnificence, in his new Hall, lately finished at Westminster, wherewith he found much fault for being built too little;

saying, *It was fitter for a Chamber, then a Hall for a King of England*, and takes a plot for one farre more spacious to be added vnto it. And in this gayetie of State, when hee had got about all his businesse, betakes him wholly to the pleasure of peace, and being hunting with his brother *Henry* in the New Forrest, *Walter Terell*, a Norman, and his kinsman, shooting at a Deere (whether mistaking his marke, or not, is vncertaine) strake him to the heart. And so fell this fierce King, in the 43. yeare of his age, when he had reigned nigh 12. yeares. A Prince, who for the first two yeares of his reigne (whilst held in, by the graue Councell of *Lanfranc*, and his owne feares) bare himselfe most worthily, and had beene absolute for State; had he not after sought to bee absolute in power, which (meeting with an exorbitant will) makes both Prince and People miserable.

The end of the Life and Reigne of William the second.

The Life, and Reigne, of Henry the first.

1100. *Anno Reg.* 1.

HENRY the youngest sonne of *William* the first, beeing at hand, and borne in *England* (which made much for him) was elected and crowned within foure dayes after his Brothers death; it being giuen out, that *Robert*, who should haue succeeded *William*, was chosen King of *Ierusalem*, and not like to giue ouer that Kingdome for this. Wherefore to settle *Henry* in the possession of the Crowne, all expedition possible was vsed, lest the report of *Roberts* returning from the Holy warres (beeing now in *Apulia*, comming home) might be noysed abroad to stagger the State; which seemed generally willing to accept of *Henry*. The first actions of his gouernement

tended all, to baite the people, and sugar their subiection (as his predecessor) vpon the like interposition had done, but with more moderation and aduisednesse: This beeing a Prince better rectified in judgement, and of a Nature more alayed, both by his sufferings, hauing sighed with other men vnder the hand of oppression, that taught him patience; and also, by hauing somewhat of the Booke, which got him opinion, and the Title of *Beauclearke*.

The ministers of exactions punished.—First, to fasten the Clergy, *Hee furnishes with fit men, all those Vacancies which his Brother had kept empty, recalls* Anselme *home to his Bishopricke of* Canterbury, *and restores them to all whatsoeuer Priuiledges had beene infringed by his Predecessour.* And for the Layety, *Hee not onely pleased them in their releiuements, but in their passion, by punishing the chiefe Ministers of their exactions*, which euermore eases the spleene of the people, glad to discharge their Princes of the euills done them (knowing how they cannot worke without hands) and lay them on their Officers, who haue the actiue power, where themselues haue but the passiue, and commonly turne as they are mooued.

Ralph Bishop of Durham committed to prison.—Dissolute persons expelled the Court.—*Ralph* Bishop of *Durham*, chiefe Counsellor to the late King, a man risen by subtlety of his tongue (from infimous condition, to the highest employments) was committed to a streight and loathsome prison, beeing famed to haue put his Maister into all these courses of exaction and irregularities, and remaines amongst the examples of perpetuall ignominy. All dissolute persons are expelled the Court: the people eased of their impositions, and restored to their lights in the night, which after the *Couerfeu* Bell were forbidden them vppon great penalty, since the beginning of *William* the first. Many other good orders for the gouernment of the Kingdome are ordayned, and besides to make him the more popular and beloued, he matches in the Royall blood of *England*, taking to wife *Maude*, daughter of *Margueret*, late

Queene of *Scots*, and Neece to *Edward Atheling*, descended from *Edmond Ironside*. A Lady that brought with her the inheritance of goodnesse she had from a blessed mother, and with much adoe was won from her Cloyster, and her vow to God, to descend to the world, and be a wife to a King.

1101. *Anno Reg.* 2. *Robert* Duke of Normandy returnes from the Holy warre.—The agreement between *Henry* and his brother.—Thus stood he entrenched in the State of *England*, when his brother *Robert* returning from the Holy warres, and receiued with great applause into his Dutchy of *Normandie*, shakes the ground of all this businesse; the first yeare threatning, the second, arriuing with a strong Army at *Portsmouth*, to recouer the Crowne, appertayning vnto him by the course of succession, hauing a mighty party in *England* of the *Norman* Nobility; who eyther mooued with Conscience of their discontent (a sickenesse rising of selfe opinion, and ouer expectation) made any light occasion the motiue of reuolt. The Armies on both sides meete, and are ready to encounter, when, for auoyding Christian blood, a treaty of peace was mooued, and in the end concluded with these Articles: 1. *That seeing* Henry *was borne since his father was King of* England, *which made him the eldest son of a King, though the last of a Duke and now inuested in the Crowne by the act of the Kingdome, he should enioy the same during his life, paying to* Robert 3000. *markes* per annum. 2. *And* Robert *suruiuing, to succeed him.* 3. *That all, who had taken part with* Robert *should haue their pardon, and receiue no detriment.*

1102. *Anno Reg.* 3. *Henry* claymes the inuestitures of Bishops.—*Anselme* oppugnes the Kings prerogatiue.—The King sends to the Pope.—This businesse thus fairely passed ouer, *Robert* of a Generous and Free Nature, stayes and Feasts, with his brother here in *England*, from the beginning of August till Michaelmas, and then returnes into *Normandie*. When *Henry*, ridde of this feare, takes to a higher straine of Regality, and now stands vpon his Prerogatiue, for the inuestitures of

Bishops, and collation of other Ecclesiasticall estates, within his Kingdome, oppugned by *Anselme*, who refused to consecrate such as he preferred, alledging it to be a violation of the sacred Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, lately decreed concerning this businesse: in so much as the King dispatches an Ambassage to Pope *Paschal*, with declaration of the right hee had to such inuestitures, from his Predecessours the Kings of *England*, who euermore conferred the same without interruption, till now of late.

1103. *Anno Reg* 4. *Anselme* followes.—*Anselme* followes after these Ambassadours, goes likewise to *Rome*, to make good the opposition. The King banishes him the Kingdome, and takes into his hands his Bishopricke. The Pope stands stifly to the power assumed by the Church, but in the end, seeing the King fast, strong, and lay too farre off out of his way to bee constrained (and hauing much to doe at that time with the Emperour and other Princes, about the same businesse) takes the way of perswasion to draw him to his will, soliciting him with kind Letters, full of protestations, to further any designes of his that might concerne his State, if he would desist from this proceeding.

The King and *Anselme* accorded.—The King prest with some other occasions, that held him in, and hauing purposes of that Nature, as by forbearance of the Church, might be the better effected, consents to satisfie the Popes will; and becomes an example to other Princes, of yeelding in this case. *Anselme* is re-called, after a yeares banishment, and the Ambassadours returne with large remunerations.

1104. *Anno Reg.* 5. The Earle of Shewsburies combination.—Whilest these things were managing at *Rome*, there burst out heere a flame, which consumed the parties that raysed it, and brought the King more easily to his ends, then otherwise he could euer haue expected. *Robert de Belesme*, Earle of *Shrewsbury*, sonne to *Roger de Mongomery* (a very fierce youth) presuming of his great estate, and his Friends, fortifies his

Castles of *Shrewsbury*, *Bridgenorth*, *Tickhill* and *Arundell*; with some other peeces in *Wales* belonging to him; and combines with the Welch, to oppose against the present State (out of a desire to set all in combustion, for his owne ends, that were altogether vncertayne) which put the King to much trauell and charge; but within thirty dayes, by employing great forces, and terrors mixt with promises, hee scattered his complices, and tooke all his Castles; except that of *Arundell*, which rendred vppon condition, that the Maister might bee permitted to retire safe into *Normandie*; which the King easily granted, seeing now hee was but the body of a silly naked Creature, that had lost both Feathers and Wings. And it made well for the King, his going thither. For, from the losing of his owne estate in *England*, and thereby aduancing the Kings reuenues, hee goes to lose *Normandy* also, and brings it to this Crowne. For, as soone as he came thither, hee fastens amity with one of like condition and Fortunes as himselfe (an exiled man), whose insolency had likewise stript him out of all his estate in *England*, and much wasted that in *Normandy*, which was *William* Earle of *Mortaigne*, sonne to *Robert*, halfe brother to King *William* the first. Who being also Earle of *Cornewall*, made sure likewise, to haue that of *Kent*: which his Vncle *Odon* lately held; but being denied it, and also euicted by Law, of certayne other parcels of Land, which hee claymed, retires with great indignation into *Normandy*, where not only he assaults the Kings Castles, but also vsurpes vpon the State of *Richard*, the young Earle of *Chester*, then the Kings Ward. These two Earles combine themselues, and with their Adherents committed many out-ragious actions, to the great spoyle and displeasure of the Countrey, whereof, though they complayned to Duke *Robert*, they found little remedy. For, he being now growne poore by his out-lauishing humour, began it seemes, to be little respected: or else falne from action, and those greatnesses his expectation had shewed him, was (as commonly great mindes dasht with ill Fortunes

are) falne likewise in spirit, and giuen ouer to his ease. Whereupon the people of *Normandy* make their exclamations to the King of *England*, who sends for his brother *Robert*, *Reprehends him for the sufferance of these disorders; aduises him to act the Part of a Prince, and not a Monke:* and in conclusion, whether by detention of his Pension, or drawing him, beeing of a facile Nature, to some act of releasing it: sends him home so much discontented, as hee ioynes with these mutinous Earles, and by their instigation, was set into that flame, as he raysed all his vtmost forces to be reuenged on his brother.

1105. *Anno Reg.* 6. England wins Normandy.—The King, touched in Conscience with the fowlenesse of a fraternall warre (which the world would take, he being the mightier, to proceed out of his designes) stood doubtfull what to doe, when Pope *Paschall*, by his Letters written with that eloquence (sayeth *Malmesbury*) wherein hee was quicke, perswaded him, *That heerein hee should not make a ciuill Warre, but doe a Noble and memorable benefite vnto his Countrey:* Whereby (paide for remitting the Inuestitures) he held himselfe countenanced in this businesse; whereon, now he sets with more alacrity and resolution. And after many difficulties, and losse of diuers worthy men, in a mighty battaile, neere the Castle of *Tenechbray*, his enemies with much adoe were all defeated. Whereby *England* won *Normandy*, and on the same day, by Computation (wherein fortie yeares before) *Normandy* ouer-came *England*; such are the turnings in the affaires of men.

Robert Duke of Normandy is imprisoned by King *Henry*. 1106. *Anno Reg.* 7.—And here *Robert*, who stood in a faire possibility of two Crownes, came to be depriued of his Dutchy and all hee had, brought prisoner into *England*, and committed to the Castle of *Cardiffe*. Where, to adde to his misery, he had the misfortune of a long life (suruiuing after he lost himselfe 26. yeares) whereof the most part he saw not, hauing his eyes put out, whereby he was onely left to his thoughts, a punishment barbarously inflicted on him, for attempting an escape.

Hee was a Prince that gaue out to the world, very few notes of his ill, but many of his Noblenesse and valour, especially in his great voyage, wherein hee had the second command, and was in election to haue beene the first preferred to the Crowne of *Ierusalem*, and missed it hardly. Onely the disobedience in his youth shewed to his Father (which yet might proceede from a rough hand borne ouer him and the animation of others, rather then his owne Nature) sets a staine vppon him: and then, his profusion (which some would haue liberality) shewed his impotency, and put him into those courses that ouerthrew him. All the Reuenues of his Dutchy, which should serue for his maintenance, hee sold or engaged, and was vppon passing the Cittie of *Roan* vnto the Cittizens, which made him held vnfit for the gouernment, and gaue occasion to his Brother to quarrell with him.

King *Henry* Duke of Normandy.—And thus came *Henry* freed from this feare, an absolute Duke of *Normandy*: had many yeares of quiet, gathered great Treasure, and entertained good intelligence with the Neighbour Princes. *Scotland*, by his Match, and doing their Princes good, hee held from doing him hurt; clearing them from vsurpations. *Wales*, though vnder his Title, yet not subiection, gaue him some exercise of action; which hee ordered with great wisedome. First hee planted within the bodie of that Countrey, a Colony of Flemings, who at that time much pestred this Kingdome: being admitted here in the reigne of King *William* the first, marrying their Countrie-women, and vsing their helpe in the action of *England*; where they dayly encreased, in such sort, as gaue great displeasure to the people. By this meanes, both that grieuance was eased, and the vse of them made profitable to the State: for being so great a number, and a strong people, they made roome for themselues, and held it in that sort, as they kept the *Welch*, all about them, in very good awe. Besides, the King tooke for hostages the chiefe mens sonnes of the Countrey, and hereby

quieted it. For *France* he stood secure, so long as *Philip* the first liued: who, wholly giuen ouer to his ease and luxury, was not for other attempts, out of that course: but his sonne hee was to looke vnto, whensoeuer he came to that Crowne.

1107. *Anno Reg.* 8.—With the Earle of *Flanders* hee had some debate, but it was onely in words, and vpon this occasion. King *William* the first, in retribution of the good his father in law, *Baldouin* the first had done, by ayding him in the action of *England*, gaue him yearely three hundred markes, and likewise continued it to his sonne after him. Now, *Robert* Earle of *Flanders*, of a collaterall line, returning emptie from the Holie warres, and finding this summe paide out of *England* to his Predecessors, demaunds the same of King *Henrie*, as his due; who not easie to part with money, sends him word; That it was not the custome of the Kings of *England* to pay tribute: If they gaue pensions, they were temporary, and according to desert. Which answere so much displeased the Earle, that though himselfe liued not to shew his hatred, yet his Sonne did, and ayded afterward *William*, the sonne of *Robert Curtoys*, in his attempts, for recouery of the Dutchy of *Normandy*, against King *Henry*.

King *Henry* quarrells with the king of *France*.—Thus stood this King in the first part of his reigne: in the other, hee had more to doe abroad then at home, where hee had by his excellent wisedome so setled the gouernment, as it held a steady course without interruption, all his time. But now *Lewis le Grosse*, succeeding his father *Phillip* the first, gaue him warning to looke to his State of *Normandy*: and for that hee would not attend a quarrell, hee makes; taking occasion about the City of *Gisors*, scituate on the Riuer *Epre*, in the confines of *Normandy*, whilst *Louys* was troubled with a stubborne Nobility, presuming vppon their Franchises, within their owne Signiories; whereof there were many, at that time about *Paris*, as the Contes of *Crecy*, *Pissaux*, *Dammartini*,

Champaigne and others, who by example, and emulation, would bee absolute Lords, without awe of a Maister, putting themselues vnder the protection of *Henry*; who beeing neere to assist them, fostred those humors, which in sicke bodies most shew themselues. But after *Louys*, by yeares gathering strength, dissolued that compact, and made his meanes the more, by their confiscations.

1108. *Anno Reg.* 9.—The Popes Oath to the Emperour.—The Emperour *Hen.* 5 marries *Maude.*—History of *France.*—The king of *France* accords the Pope and Emperour.—Now to entertaine these two great Princes in worke, the quarrel betweene the Pope and the Emperour, ministred fresh occasion. The Emperour *Henry* the fift, hauing (by the Popes instigation) banded against his Father, *Henry* the fourth, who associated him in the Empire, and held him prisoner in that distresse, as hee dyed; toucht afterwards with remorse of this act, and reproach of the State, for abandoning the rights of the Empire, leauies sixty thousand foote, and thirty thousand horse, for *Italy*; constraines the Pope and his Colledge to acknowledge the right of the Empire in that forme as *Leo* the fourth had done to *Otho* the second, and before that, *Adrian* to *Charlemaigne*, according to the Decree of the Councell of *Rome*, and made him take his Oathe of fidelity betweene his hands, as to the true and lawfull Emperour. The Pope, so soone as *Henry* was departed home, assembles a Councell, nullifies this acknowledgement, as done by force, and shortly after deceased. The Emperour, to make himselfe the stronger against his successours, enters into alliance with the King of *England*, takes to wife his daughter *Maude*, beeing but fiue yeares of age. After this, *Calixte* son of the Conte *de Burgogne*, comming to be Pope, and being French (vnto their great applause) assembles a Councell at *Reimes*; where, by Ecclesiasticall sentence, *Henry* the fift is declared enemy of the Church and degraded of his Emperiall Dignity. The King of *England*, seeing this Councell was held in *France*,

and composed chiefely of the *Gallicane* Church, desirous to ouer-maister *Louys*, incenses his sonne in law the Emperour (stung with this disgrace) to set vppon him (as the Popes chiefe pillar) on one side, and he would assayle him on the other. The Emperor easily wrought to such a businesse, prepares all his best forces: the King of *England* doth the like. The King of *France* seeing this storme comming so impetuously vppon him, wrought so with the Princes of *Germany*, as they, weighing the future mischiefe of a warre vndertaken in a heate with the importance of a kinde Neighbour-hood, aduise the Emperour not to enter there-into, till hee had signifyed to the King of *France*, the causes of his discontent. Whereupon an Embassage is dispatched: The King of *France* answeres, *That hee grieued much to see the two greatest Pillars of the Church, thus shaken with these dissensions, whereby might be feared, the whole frame would be ruined: that he was a friend to them both, and would gladly bee an inter-dealer for concord, rather then to carry wood to a fire too fierce already, which he desired to extinguish for the good and quiet of Christendome.* This Embassage wrought so, as it dis-armed the Emperour, glad to haue *Louys* a mediator of the accord betweene the Pope and him: to the great displeasure of the King of *England*, who expected greater matters to haue risen by this businesse. The accord is concluded at *Wormes*, to the Popes aduantage, to whom the Emperor yeelds vp the right of inuestitures of Bishops and other Benefices. But this was onely to appease, not cure the malady.

King *Henry* aydes Conte *Theobald* against the king of *France.*—The King of *England* disappoynted thus of the Emperours assistance proceedes notwithstanding in his intentions against *Louys*. And seeing he fayled of outward Forces, he sets vp a party in his Kingdome, to confront him: ayding *Theobald Conte de Champaigne*, with so great power, as he stood to doe him much displeasure: besides, hee obtayned a strong side in that kingdome, by his alliances: for *Stephen*

Earle of *Bloys*, had married his sister *Adela*, to whom this *Theobald* was brother, and had won *Foulke*, Earle of *Aniou* (an important neighbour, and euer an enemy to *Normandie*) to bee his, by matching his sonne *William* to his daughter.

The King of *France* combines with the Earle of *Flanders*, against King *Henry*.—*Louys* on the other side, fayles not to practise all meanes to vnder-worke *Henries* estate in *Normandie*, and combines with *William* Earle of *Flanders*, for the restoring of *William*, the sonne of *Robert Curtoys*, to whom the same appertayned by right of inheritance; and had the fayrer shewe of his actions, by taking hold on the side of Iustice.

Great and many were the conflicts betweene these two Princes, with the expence of much blood and charge. But in the end, beeing both tyred, a peace was concluded, by the mediation of the Earle of *Aniou*. And *William* son to King *Henry*, did homage to *Louys* for the Dutchy of *Normandy*; And *William* the sonne of *Robert Curtoys*, is left to himselfe, and desists from his clayme.

1116. *Anno Reg.* 17.—Queene *Maud* liued not to see this disaster.—Vpon the faire cloze of all these troubles, there followed presently an accident, which seasoned it with that sowernesse of griefe, as ouer-came all the ioy of the successe. *William* the young Prince, the onely hope of all the *Norman* race, at seuenteene yeares of age, returning into *England*, in a ship by himselfe, accompanied with *Richard* his base brother, *Mary* Countesse of *Perch*, their sister; *Richard* Earle of *Chester*, with his wife, the Kings Neece, and many other personages of honour, and their attendants, to the number of 140. besides 50. Marriners, setting out from *Barbfleet*, were all cast away at sea: onely a Butcher escaped. The Prince had recouered a Cock-boat, and in possibility to haue beene saued, had not the compassion of his sisters cryes, drawne him backe to the sinking ship to take her in, and perish with his Company.

Which sudden clap of Gods iudgement, comming in a calme of glory, when all these bustlings seemed past ouer, might make

a conscience shrinke with terror, to see oppression and supplantation repayd with the extinction of that, for which so much had been wrought, and the line Masculine of *Normandy* expired in the third inheritor (as if to begin the fate, layd on all the future succession hitherunto; wherein the third Heire in a right descent, seldome or neuer enioyed the Crowne of *England*, but that eyther by vsurpation or extinction of the male blood, it receiued an alteration;) which may teach Princes to obserue the wayes of Righteousnesse, and let men alone with their rights, and God with his prouidence.

Robert de Mellents conspiracie.—After this heauy disaster, this King is sayd neuer to haue beene seene to laugh, though within fiue moneths after, in hope to restore his issue, he married *Adalicia*, a beautifull young Lady, daughter to the Duke of *Lovaine*, and of the house of *Loraine*, but neuer had child by her, nor long rest from his troubles abroad. For this rent at home, crackt all the chayne of his courses in *France*. *Normandy* it selfe became wauering, and many adhered to *William* the Nephew: his great confederates are most regayned to the King of *France: Foulke* Earle of *Aniou* quarrels for his daughters Dower: *Robert de Mellent* his chiefe Friend and Counsellor, a man of great imployment, fell from him, conspired with *Hugh* Earle of *Monfort* and wrought him great trouble.

1123. *Anno Reg.* 25.—*Maud* the Empresse married to *Geffery Plantagenet*.—But such was his diligence and working spirit, that hee soone made whole all those ruptures againe. The two Earles himselfe surprizes; and *Aniou*, death: which beeing so important a neighbour, as we may see, by matching a Prince of *England* there, the King fastens vpon it with another alliance, and descends to marry his daughter (and now onely child, which had beene wife to an Emperour, and desired by the Princes of *Lombardy* and *Loraine*) to the now Earle *Geffery Plantagenet*, the sonne of *Foulke*.

1126. *Anno Reg.* 28.—The King of *France* to Fortifie his opposition, entertaynes *William* the Nephew, where now all

the danger lay; and aydes him in person, with great power, to obtayne the Earledome of *Flanders*, whereunto he had a fayre Title, by the defaillance of issue in the late Earle *Baldouin*, slayne in a battell in *France* against King *Henry*. But *William* / as if heire also of his fathers fortunes, admitted to the Earldome, miscarried in the rule, was depriued, and slaine in battaile; and in him all of *Robert Curtoys* perished.

1133. *Anno Reg.* 34.—And now the whole care of King *Henrie*, was the setling of the succession vppon *Maude* (of whome hee liued to see two sonnes borne) for which he conuokes a Parliament in *England*, wherein an Oath is ministred to the Lords of this Land, to bee true to her and her heires, and acknowledge them as the right inheritor of the Crowne. This Oath was first taken by *Dauid*, King of *Scots*, vncle to *Maude*, and by *Stephen*, Earle of *Bollogne* and *Mortaine*, Nephew to the King, on whom hee had bestowed great possessions in *England*, and aduanced his brother to the Bishoprick of *Winchester*. And to make all more fast, this Oath was afterward ministred againe at *Northampton* in another Parliament.

So that now all seemes safe and quiet, but his owne sleepes, which are saide to haue beene very tumultuous, and full of affrightments, wherein hee would often rise, take his sword, and be in act, as if he defended himselfe against assaults of his person, which shewed, all was not well within.

His gouernment in peace.—The first vse of Progresses.—His gouernment in peace, was such as rankes him in the list amongst our Kings of the fairest marke: holding the Kingdome so well ordered, as during all his reigne, which was long, he had euer the least to doe at home. At the first, the competition with his brother, after, the care to establish his succession, held him in, to obserue all the best courses, that might make for the good and quiet of the State; hauing an especiall regarde to the due administration of Iustice, that no corruption or oppression might disease his people, whereby

thinges were carried with an euennesse, betweene the Great men and the Commons, as gaue all, satisfaction. Hee made diuers Progresses, into remote parts of the Land, to see how the State was ordered. And for that purpose, whensoeuer he was in *England*, hee kept no certaine residence, but solemnized the great Festiuals in seuerall, and farre distant places of the Kingdome, that all might partake of him.

The beginning of Parliaments.—He assembles the first Parliament after the Conquest.—His reformation.—And for that hee would not wrest any thing by an Imperiall power from the Kingdome (which might breed vlcers of dangerous nature) he tooke a course to obtaine their free consents to serue his occasions, in their generall assemblies of the three Estates of the Land, which hee first conuoked at *Salisburie*, *Anno Reg.* 15. and which had from his time the name of Parliament, according to the manner of *Normandie*, and other States, where Princes keepe within their circles to the good of their people, their owne glorie, and security of their posterity.

His meanes to raise monies.—Hee was a Prince that liued formally himselfe, and repressed those excesses in his subiects which those times entertained, as the wearing of long haire, which though it were a gayetie of no charge (like those sumptuous braueries, that waste Kingdomes in peace) yet for the vndecencie thereof, hee reformed it, and all other dissolutenesse. His great businesses, and his wants taught him frugality, and wearinesse of expence; and his warres beeing seldome inuasiue, and so not getting, put him often to vse hard courses for his suppliments of treasure. Towards the marriage of his daughter with the Emperour, and the charge of his warre, hee obtained (as it might seeme at his first Parliament at *Salisbury*) *Anno Reg.* 15. three shillings vppon euerie hide-land, but hee had no more in all his reigne, except one supply for his warres afterward in *France*. Hee kept Bishoprickes and Abbeyes voyde in his hands; as that of *Canterbury*, fiue yeares together. By an Act of Parliament

at *London*, *Anno Reg.* 30. hee had permission to punish Marriage, and incontinency of Priestes, whome (for fines notwithstanding) he suffered to enioy their wiues: but heereby he displeased the Clergie, and disappointed that reformation.

Punishments which were Mutilation of members, hee made pecuniary. And by reason of his often and long beeing in *Normandie*, those prouisions for his house, which were vsed to bee paide in kinde, were rated at certaine prizes and receiued in money, by the consent of the State, and to the great content of the Subiect; who by reason that many dwelling farre off throughout all Shires of *England*, were much molested with satisfying the same otherwyse. He resumed the liberties of hunting in his Forrests which / tooke vp much fayre ground of the Kingdome; and besides renuing for penalties, made an Edict, *That if any man in his owne priuate woods, killed the Kings Deere, hee should forfeit his woods to the King.* But he permitted them inclosures for Parkes, which vnder him seemes to haue had their Originall, bythe example of that of his at *Wood-stocke*, the multitude whereof grew to be afterwards a disease in the Kingdome. *(Tilburiensis de Scaccario.)*

His expences.—His expences were chiefly in his Warres and his many and great Fortifications in *Normandy*. His buildings were the Abbey of *Reading*, the Mannor of *Woodstocke*, and the great inclosure of that Parke, with a stone wall seauen miles about.

His Counsellors.—The magnificent buildings of *Roger* Bishop of *Sarum*.—The most eminent men of his Councell were *Roger* Bishop of *Sarum*, and the Earle of *Mellent*, both men of great experience in the affayres of the World. *Roger* was euer as Vice-Roy, had the whole management of the Kingdome in his absence, which was sometimes three and foure yeares together. Hee had managed the Kings money and other affayres of his house, when hee was a poore Prince, and a priuate man; whereby hee gayned an especiall trust with him

euer after, and discharged his part with great policy and vnderstanding; had the title of *Iusticiarius totius Angliæ.* Of whose magnificence and spacious minde, wee haue more memorialls left in notes of stone, then of any one Man, Prince, or other of this Kingdome. The ruines yet remayning of his stately structures, especially that of the *Deuises* in *Wiltshire*, shewes vs the carkasse of a most *Roman*-like Fabricke. Besides, hee built the Castles of *Mamsbury* and *Shirburne*, two strong and sumptuous peeces: new walled and repayred the Castle of *Salisbury*, and all these hee liued to see rent from him, and seased into the next Kings hands, as beeing things done out of his part, and lye now deformed heapes of rubble. Besides, hee walled old *Salisbury* and repayred the Church there.

Robert Mellent an especiall Counsellor to *Hen.* 1.—The example of frugality in great men doth much good in a Kingdome.—*Robert* Earle of *Mellent*, was son of *Roger Beaumont*; who of all the great men which followed *William* the first in his ciuill Warres of *Normandy*, refused to attend him in his expedition for *England*, though with large promises inuited thereunto, saying, *The inheritance left him by his predecessors, was sufficient to maintaine his estate at home; and he desired not to thrust himselfe into other mens possessions abroad.* But his Son *Robert* was of another minde, and had a mighty estate both in *England* and *Normandy.* Was a man of great direction in Counsell, and euer vsed in all the weighty affayres of the State. His frugality both in apparell and dyet, was of such example, beeing a man of eminent note, as did much good to the Kingdome in those dayes. But in the end hee fell into disgrace, (the fate of Court, and eminency) opposed against the King, and dyed bereft of his estate.

King *Henries* death.—Besides these, the King was serued with a potent and martiall Nobility, whom his spirit led to affect those great designes of his in *France*, for the preseruation of his State in *Normandy.* Whither in the 32. yeare of his reigne, hee makes his last voyage to dye there, and in his

passage thither, happened an exceeding great Ecclipse of the Sun, which was taken to fore-signifie his death; for that it followed shortly after, in the thirty fiue yeare of his reigne.

His personage.—He was of a gracefull personage, quicke-eyed, browne hayre (a different complexion from his brothers) and of a close compacted temperament, wherein dwelt a minde of a more sollide constitution, with better ordered affections. Hee had, in his youth, some taste of learning; but onely, as if to set his stomacke, not to ouer-charge it therewith. But this put many of his subiects into the fashion of the booke, and diuers learned men flourished in his time.

His issue.—He had by *Maude* his wife the daughter of *Malcolin* the third, King of *Scotland*, none other children but *Maude* and *William*, of whom any certayne mention is made: but hee is sayd to haue had of children illegitimate seuen sonnes, and as many daughters, which shewes vs his incontinency: two of which sonnes of most especiall note, *Robert* and *Raynold* were Earles, the one of *Glocester* (a great Champion and defender of his sister *Maud* the Empresse) the other Earle of *Cornwall*, and Baron of *Castle-combe*. His daughters were all married to Princes and Noble men of *England* and *France*, from whom descended many worthy Families, as diuers Writers report.

The end of the Life, and Reigne of Henry the first.

The Life, and Reigne, of King Stephen.

1135. *Anno Reg.* 1.

THE Line *Masculine* of the *Norman* extinct, and onely a daughter left, and she married a *Frenchman*, *Stephen* Earle of *Bologne* and *Mortagne*, sonne of *Stephen* Earle of *Blois*, and of *Adela* daughter to *William* the first, was (notwithstanding the former oath

taken for *Maud*) elected by the State, and inuested in the Crowne of *England*, within thirty dayes after the death of *Henry*. Vpon what reasons of Councell, wee must gather out of the circumstances of the courses held in that time.

Reasons why *Maude* was not crowned.—Reasons why *Stephen* Earle of Bullogne was crowned King.—Some imagine, *The States refused* Maude, *for not beeing then the custome of any other Kingdom Christian (whose Kings are annoynted) to admit women to inherit the Crowne*; and therefore they might pretend to be freed from their oath, as being vnlawfull. But *Roger*, Bishop of *Salisbury*, one of the principall men then in Counsell, yeelded another reason for the discharge of this oath, which was *That seeing the late King had married his daughter out of the Realme, without the consent thereof, they might lawfully refuse her.* And so was *Stephen*, hauing no title at all, but as one of the blood, by meere election, aduanced to the Crowne. For if he could clayme any right in the Succession, as beeing the sonne of *Adela*, then must *Theobald*, Earle of *Blois*, his elder brother, haue beene preferred before him; and *Henry Fitz Empresse* (if they refused the Mother) was neerer in blood to the right Stem, then eyther. But they had other reasons that ruled that time. Stephen *was a man, and of great possessions, both in* England *and* France, *had one brother Earle of* Blois, *a Prince of great estate; another, Bishop of* Winchester *(the Popes Legat in* England, *of power eminent), was popular for his affabilitie, goodly personage, and actiuenesse:* and therefore acceptable to the Nobility, who, at that time, were altogether guided by the Clergy; and they (by the working of the Bishop of *Winchester*, induced to make choyce of him) hauing an opinion, that by preferring one, whose Title was least, would make his obligation the more to them; and so, they might stand better (secured of their liberties) then vnder such a one, as might presume of an hereditary succession. And to be the more sure there, before his admittance to the Crowne, he takes a priuate oath before the Bishop of *Canterbury*, *to confirme the*

ancient liberties of the Church; and had his brother to vndertake betwixt God and him, for the performance thereof.

King *Stephen* possesses the Treasure of *Henry* 1.—His first Parliament at *Oxford*.—But being now in the possession of the Kingdome, and all the Treasure his Vncle had in many yeares gathered, which amounted to *one hundred thousand pounds of exquisite siluer, besides plate and iewells, of inestimable value:* After the Funerals performed at *Reading*, hee assembles a Parliament at *Oxford*, wherein, *Hee restored to the Clergy, all their former liberties and freed the Laity from their tributes; exactions, or whatsoeuer grieuances opprest them*, confirming the same by his Charter, which faythfully to obserue, hee tooke a publique oath before all the Assembly: Where, likewise the Bishops swore fealty vnto him, but with this condition; *So long as hee obserued the Tenour of this Charter.*

And now as one that was to make good the hold that he had gotten, with power, and his sword, prepares for all assaults, which he was sure to haue come vpon him. And first grants licence, to all that would, *to build Castles vpon their owne Lands*, thereby to Fortifie the Realme, and breake the force of any ouer-running inuasion, that should master the field: Which in setled times might be of good effect, but in a season of distraction and part-taking, very dangerous. And being to subsist by Friends, hee makes all he could: *Creates new Lords, giues to many great Possessions, and hauing a full purse spares for no cost to buy loue and fidelitie:* A purchase very vncertaine when there may be other conueyances made of more strength to carry it.

Two wayes he was to looke for blowes: From *Scotland* on one side, and *France* on the other: *Scotland* wanted no instigations: *Dauid* their King mooued both by Nature and his oath to his Neece, turnes head vppon him: *Stephen* was presently there, with the / shew of a strong Armie, and appeased him with the restitution of *Cumberland*, and his sonne *Henry* Prince of *Scotland*, with the Earledome of *Huntingdon*: which,

with that of *Northumberland* (as Scottish VVriters say) was to descend vnto him by the right of his Mother *Maude*, who was daughter to *Waltheof* Earle of *Huntingdon*, and of *Iudith* Neece to *William* the first, by whose gift he had that Earledome, and was the sonne of *Syward* Earle of *Northumberland*. And for this the Prince of *Scotland*, tooke his Oath of fealty to King *Stephen* which the father refused to doe, as hauing first sworne to *Maude* the Empresse. Though otherwise hee might be indifferent, in respect that *Stephen* had married likewise his Neece, which was *Maude* daughter to the Earle of *Bologne* and of *Mary* sister to this King *Dauid*, who by this meane was Vncle both to *Maude* the Queene, and *Maude* the Empresse.

The King, returning from this Voyage, found some defection of his Nobilitie, which presently put him into another action, that entertayned him sometimes: After which, hee falls dangerously sicke, in so much as hee was noysed to bee dead, by which sickenesse, hee lost more then his Health: For his Friends, put in danger thereby, cast to seeke another party to beare them vp: it weakened *Aniou*, and sets him on to surprize certayne peeces in *Normandy*, to prepare for the recouerie of his VViues right, and made all this Kingdome wauer. Thus was his first yeare spent, which shewed how the rest of eighteene would prooue, wherein wee are to haue no other representations, *But of reuolts, beseeging of Castles, surprizings, recouerings, losings againe, with great spoiles, and destruction;* in briefe, a most miserable face of a distracted State, that can yeelde no other notes of instruction, but such as are generall in all times of like disposition; and therefore heerein wee may the better forbeare the rehearsall of many particulars, beeing all vnder one head of action, and like Nature.

1137. *Anno Reg.* 2.—*Robert* Earle of Glocester the naturall sonne of *Henry* the first.—The King, hauing recouered, would make the world know hee was aliue, and presently passes with Forces into *Normandy*, ouer-came the Earle of *Aniou* in

battaile; after makes peace with him, and vpon renouncing of the claime of *Maude*, *couenants to giue him* 5000. *markes* per annum: he entertaines amity with King *Louys* the seuenth, and causes his sonne *Eustace* to doe him homage for the Dutchy of *Normandy*, wherein he was inuested: besides, to content his elder brother *Theobald*, Earle of *Blois*, hee giues him *a pension of* 2000. *markes*, and so returnes againe into *England*, to a VVarre against *Scotland*, which, in the meane time, made incursions on this Kingdome; where whilst hee was held busie in worke, *Robert* Earle of *Glocester*, base sonne to *Henry* the first, a man of high spirit, great direction, and indefatigable industry (an especiall actor that performed the greatest part, in these times, for his sister *Maude*) had surprized the Castle of *Bristow*, and procured Confederates to make good other peeces abroad in diuers parts: as *William Talbot* the Castle of *Hereford*; *Paynel* the Castle of *Lodlow*; *Louell* that of *Cary*; *Moone* the Castle of *Dunster*; *Robert de Nichol* that of *Warham*, *Eustace Fitz Iohn* that of *Walton*, and *William Fitz Allan* the Castle of *Shrewsbury*.

King *Stephen* represses the Conspirators.—*Stephen* leaues the prosecution of the *Scottish* VVarres to *Thrustan* Archbishop of *Yorke*, whom he made his Lieutenant, and furnished with many Valiant Leaders, as *Walter* Earle of *Albemary*, *William Peuerell* of *Nottingham*; *Walter* and *Gilbert Lacies*: Himselfe brauely attended, bends all his power to represse the Conspirators, which hee did in one expedition; recouers all the Castles (by reason of their distance, not able to succour one another) and draue the Earle of *Glocester* home to his sister into *Aniou*.

He defeited the Scots. 1138. *Anno Reg.* 3.—No lesse successes had his forces in the North, against the *Scots*, whom in a great battaile they dis-comfeited and put to flight: Which great Fortunes meeting together in one yeare, brought foorth occasion of bad, in that following: for now presuming more of himselfe, he fell vpon those rockes that rent all his greatnesse.

He calls a Councell at *Oxford*, where occasion was giuen to put him out with the Clergie, that had onely set him into the State. The Bishops vpon the permission of building Castles, so out-went the Lords in Magnificence, strength, and number of their erections, and especially the Bishop of *Salisburie*, that their greatnesse was much maligned by / them, putting the King in head, that all these great Castles, especially of *Salisbury*, the *Vies*, *Shyrburne*, *Malmesbury*, and *Newarke*, were onely to entertayne the party of *Maude*: whereupon the King, whose feares were apt to take fire, sends for the Bishop of *Salisbury* (most suspected) to *Oxford*. The Bishop, as if fore-seeing the mischiefe comming to him, would gladly haue put off his iourney, and excused it by the debility of his age, but it would not serue his turne: thither he comes, where his seruants, about the taking vp of Lodgings, quarrell with the seruants of the Earle of *Brittaine*, and from words fall to blowes, so that in the bickering, one of them was slaine, and the Nephew of the Earle dangerously VVounded. Whereupon the King sends for the Bishop, to satisfie his Court, for the breach of peace, made by his seruants: The satisfaction required, was *the yeelding vp the keyes of his Castles, as pledges of his fealty*; but that being stood vpon, the Bishop with his Nephew, *Alexander* Bishop of *Lincolne*, were restrayned of their liberty, and shortly after sent as prisoners to the Castle of the *Deuises*, whither (the Bishop of *Eley*, another of his Nephewes) had retired himselfe before. (1140. *Anno Reg.* 5.—The King seizes vpon the Bishops Castles and Treasure.) The King seizes into his hands his Castles of *Salisbury*, *Shyrburne*, *Malmesbury*, & after three dayes assault, the *Deuises* was likewise rendred; besides, he tooke all his Treasure, which amounted to fortie thousand markes.

The Popes Legat a Bishop takes part with Bishops against the King his brother. (*Malmesbury.*)—This action being of an extraordinary strayne, gaue much occasion of rumour; some said: *The King had done well in seizing vpon these Castles; it*

being vnfit, and against the Canons of the Church, that they who were men of Religion and peace should raise Fortresses for Warre, and in that sort as might be preiudiciall to the King. Against this was the Bishop of *Winchester*, the Popes Legat, taking rather the part of his function, then that of a brother: saying: *That if the Bishops had transgressed, it was not the King but the Canons, that must iudge it: that they ought not to be depriued of their possessions, without a publique Ecclesiasticall Councell; that the King had not done it, out of the zeale of Iustice, but for his owne benefit, taking away that which had beene built vpon the Lands, and by the charge of the Church to put it into the hands of Lay-men, little affected to Religion.* And therefore to the end, the power of the Canons might bee examined, hee appoynts a Councell to bee called at *Winchester*, whither the King is summoned: And thither repayre most of all the Bishops of the Kingdome, where first is read the Commission of the Legatine power, granted by Pope *Innocent* to the Bishop of *Winchester*, who there openly vrges the indignity offered to the Church, by the imprisoning of these Bishops: *An act most haynous and shamefull for the King, that in the peace of his Court, through the instigation of euill ministers, would thus lay hands vpon such men, spoile them of their estates: Which was a violence against God. And that seeing the King would yeeld to no admonitions hee had at length called this Councell, where they were to consult what was to be done: that for his part, neither the loue of the King, though his brother, nor the losse of his liuing, or danger of his life, should make him faile in the execution of what they should decree.*

The King, standing vpon this cause, sends certayne Earles to this Councell, to know why hee was called thither: Answere was made by the Legat: *That the King, who was subiect to the faith of* CHRIST, *ought not to take it ill, if by the ministers of* CHRIST, *he was called to make satisfaction, being conscious of such an offence as that age had not knowne: that it was for times of the Gentiles, for Bishops to be imprisoned, and depriued of their*

possessions; and therefore they should tell the King his brother, That if he would vouchsafe to yeeld consent to the Councell, it should be such by the helpe of God, as neither the Roman *Church, the Court of the King of* France, *nor the Earle* Theobald, *brother to them both (a man wise, and religious) should, in reason dislike it: That the King should doe aduisedly to render the reason of his act, and vndergo a Canonicall iudgement: that hee ought in duty to fauour the Church, into whose bosome being taken, hee was aduanced to the Crowne without any military hand.*

The Kings Reply.—With which answere the Earles departed, attended with *Alberic de Ver*, a man exercised in the Law; and hauing related the same, they returned with the Kings reply: which *Alberic* vtters, *and vrges the iniuries Bishop* Roger *had done to the King: how he seldome came to his Court: that his men, presuming on his power, had offred violence to the nephew and seruants of the Earle of* Brittaine, *and to the seruants of* Herui de Lyons, *a man of | that Nobility and stoutnes, as would neuer voutsafe to come vpon any request to the late King and yet for the loue of this, was desirous to see* England: *where, to haue this violence offred was an iniury to the King, and dishonour to the Realme; that the Bishop of* Lincolne, *for the ancient hatred to the Earle of* Brittaine, *was the author of his mens sedition: that the Bishop of* Salisbury *secretly fauoured the Kings enemies; and did but subtlely temporize, as the King had found by diuers circumstances: especially when* Roger de Mortimer, *sent with the Kings forces in the great danger of* Bristow, *hee would not lodge him one night in* Malmesbury: *that it was in euery mans mouth, as soone as the Empresse came, he and his Nephewes would render their Castles vnto her. That he was arrested, not as a Bishop, but a seruant to the King, and one that administred his procurations, and receiued his monies. That the King tooke not his Castles by violence, but the Bishop voluntarily rendred them, to auoid the calumnie of their tumults raysed in his Court: If the King found some mony in his Castles,*

he might lawfully seize on it, in regard Roger *had collected it out of the reuenues of the King his Vncle and predecessor: and the Bishop willingly yeelded vp the same, as well as his Castles, through feare of his offences; and of this, wanted not witnesses of the Kings part, who desired that the couenants made betweene him and the Bishop, might remaine ratified.*

Against this, Bishop *Roger* opposes: *That he was neuer seruant to the King, nor receiued his monies; and withall added threatnings, as a man, not yet broken, though bent with his fortunes: that if he found not iustice for his wrongs in that Councell, hee would bring it to the hearing of a greater Court.*

The Legat mildly, as he did other things, said: *That all what was spoken against the Bishops, ought first to be examined in the Ecclesiasticall Councell, whither they were true or no, before sentence should haue bin giuen against them contrary to the Canons; and therefore the King should (as it is lawfull in iudiciall trials) reuest the Bishops in their former Estates, otherwise by the law of Nations being disseised, they shall not hold their Plea.*

After much debate, the Kings cause was (vpon a motion) put off till the next day, to the end the Arch-bishop of *Roan*, an especiall instrument for the King, might bee there; who deliuering his opinion, said: *That if the Bishops could rightly proue by the Canons, they ought to haue Castles, they should hold them; but if they could not, it proceeded of great improbity to striue to do otherwise. And be it (said he) their right to haue them; yet in a suspected time, according to the manner of other Nations, all great men ought to deliuer the keyes of their Fortresses, to be at the Kings pleasure, who is to fight for the peace of all. But it is not their right by the decree of the Canons to haue castles; and if by the Princes indulgence it be tollerated, yet in a time of necessity, they ought to deliuer the Keyes.*

The Legats and Archbishops submission.—The Lawyer *Alberic* addes; *That it was signified to the King, how the Bishops threatned, and had furnished some to go to* Rome *against him.*

But, said he, the King would haue you know, that none of you presume to do it: for if any go out of England, *contrary to his will, and the dignitie of the Kingdome, it will be hard returning.* In conclusion the Councell brake vp, nothing was done. The Bishops durst not excommunicate the King, without the Popes priuity; and besides, they saw the swords too busie about them; yet failed not the Legat, and the Arch-bishop to prosecute their parts, and from authority, fell to prayer; and (at the Kings feete, in his Chamber) *besought him, that he would pitty the Church, pitty his owne soule and his fame; not to suffer dissention to be, betweene the Kingdome and the Priesthood.* The King returned them faire words, but held what he had gotten.

Shortly after, through griefe, dyed the Bishop of *Salisbury*, and (according to the fate of ouer-eminent and greedy Officers) vnpittied. He was a man (in his latter time) noted of much corruption, and vnsatiable desire of hauing. For whom, the present King in the beginning of his Reigne had done very much, making one of his Nephewes Chancellour, the other Treasurer, and vpon his suite, gaue to himselfe the Borough of *Malmsbury*; insomuch as the King would say to his Familiars about him: *If this man will begge thus still, I will giue him halfe the Kingdome but I will please him: and first shall hee be weary of crauing, ere I of granting.* And sure the King had great reason to suspect his adhering to *Maude*, whose part hee began to fauour: onely, out of the hatred he bare to *Winchester*; who yet was content to forsake his owne brother, in regard, by his / ingagement he was preferred to the Crowne, rather then to lose his good will, and the rest of the Clergy.

Maude the Empresse conducted into *England.*—But yet this breaking of the King into the Church (which had made him) vtterly dissolued him. For presently heereuppon all his power fell asunder: The Empresse found now a way open to let her in, and the Earle of *Glocester* presuming of a sure side,

conducted her into *England* onely with 150. men : put her into the Castle of *Arundell*, and himselfe (attended but with twelue horse) passed away cleare through all the Country to *Bristow* and from thence to *Glocester*, where he had leisure without opposition, to rayse all the Country to take part with the Empresse ; who, from *Arundell* Castle, was afterward (by the Legat himselfe, and the Kings permission) conueyed to *Bristow*: receiued with all obedience, grew daily in strength as she went, and came at length to her brother (who had taken in *Hereford*, made himselfe strong with the Welsh, and setled those parts) to gather vp more of the Kingdome, by shewing herselfe and her power in diuers places.

Stephen, hauing no part cleare (by reason the Castles, vpon which hee spent both his time and meanes, lay so thicke blockes in his way) as hee could not make that speede to stop this streame, as otherwise he would : holding it not safe to goe forward, and leaue dangers behind, that might ouer-take him. And first hee layes siege to the Castle of *Wallingford*, which, *Brian* sonne to the Earle of *Glocester*, held against him : then to the Castle of *Bristow* and other places, working much, but effecting little : which seeing, to get time and stagger the swift proceeding of this new receiued Princesse, hee causes a treaty of peace to be propounded at *Bathe*, where the Legat (who likewise earnestly solicited the same) with the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, were appointed Commissioners for the King ; and the Earle of *Glocester* for the Empresse ; but nothing was effected, both returne to make good their sides. The Empresse seekes to recouer more, the King what he had lost. And lest the North parts might fall from him, and the King of Scots come on, hee repaires thitherward : And finding the Castle of *Lincolne* possest by *Ralph* Earle of *Chester*, who had married a daughter of the Earle of *Glocester*, and holding it not safe to bee in the hands of such a Maister, in such a time, seekes to take it in by force. The Earle of *Chester*, who held newtrall, attempting nothing against the King, tooke it ill, and stood

vpon his defence: but being ouer-layd by power, conueyes himselfe out of the Castle, leaues his brother and wife within to defend it, and procures ayde of his Father in Law the Earle of *Glocester*, to succour him.

The Earle takes in hand this businesse, sets out of *Glocester* with an army of *Welchmen* and others, attended with *Hugh Bigod* and *Robert de Morley*, ioynes with the Earle of *Chester*, marches to *Lincolne*, where, in the battaile, King *Stephen* was taken, carried prisoner to *Glocester*, presented to the Empresse, and by her sent to bee kept in the Castle of *Bristow*, but in all Honourable fashion, till his attempts to escape layde fetters on him.

Shee labours the Legat for the Crowne of *England*.— Hereupon the Empresse (as at the top of her fortune) labours the Legat *to bee admitted to the Kingdom, as the daughter of the late King, to whom the Realme had taken an oath to accept for soueraigne in the succession*; and wrought so, as a Parle was appointed for this purpose, on the Playne neere to *Winchester*, where in a blustering sad day (like the fate of the businesse) they met; and the Empresse swore, and made affidation to the Legat, *that all the great businesses, and especially the donation of Bishoprickes and Abbeys, should bee at his disposing if he (with the Church) would receiue her as Queene of* England, *and hold perpetuall fidelity vnto her.* The same oath and affidation tooke likewise her brother *Robert* Earle of *Glocester*, *Brian* his sonne, Marques of *Wallingford*, *Miles* of *Glocester* (after Earle of *Hereford*) with many others for her. Nor did the Bishop sticke to accept her as Queene (though she neuer came to bee so), and with some few other, made likewise affidation for his part, that so long as shee infringed not her couenant, hee would also hold his fidelity to her.

The next day, shee was receiued with solemne procession into the Bishops Church at *Winchester*, the Bishop leading her on the right hand, and *Bernard* Bishop of Saint *Dauids* on the left. There were present many other Bishops, as *Alexander*

Bishop of *Lincolne*, / and *Nigel* Bishop of *Eley* (the Nephewes of *Roger*, lately imprisoned) *Robert* Bishop of *Bathe*, and *Robert* Bishop of *Worcester*, with many Abbots.

The Legats speech to the Clergy, to Crowne the Empresse.— Within a few dayes after came *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, to the Empresse inuited by the Legat; but deferred to doe fealty vnto her, as holding it vnworthy his person and place, without hauing conferred first with the King. And therefore hee, with many Prelats, and some of the Laiety (by permission obtained) went to the King to *Bristow*. The Councell brake vp, the Empresse keepes her Easter at *Oxford*, being her owne Towne. Shortly vppon Easter a Councell of the Clergy is againe called to *Winchester*, where the first day the Legat had secret conference with euery Bishop apart, and then with euery Abbot and other, which were called to the Councell. The next day he makes a publike speech, *Shewing how the cause (of their Assembly) was to consult for the peace of their Country, in great danger of vtter ruine. Repeates the flourishing reigne of his Vncle, the peace, wealth and honour of the kingdom in his time; and how that renowned King, many yeares before his death, had receiued an oath both of* England *and* Normandy, *for the succession of his daughter* Maude *and her issue; but,* saith he, *after his decease, his daughter being then in* Normandy, *making delay to come into* England, *where (for that it seemed long to expect) order was to be taken for the peace of the Country, and my brother was permitted to Reigne. And although I interposed my selfe a surety betweene God and him, that hee should honour and exalt the holy Church, keepe and ordaine good Lawes; Yet, how he hath behaued himselfe in the Kingdome, it grieues me to remember, and I am ashamed to repeate. And then recounts he all the Kings courses with the Bishops, and all his other mis-gouernments. And then,* sayd he, *euery man knowes I ought to loue my mortall brother, but much more the cause of my immortall Father; and therefore seeing God hath shewed his iudgement on my brother, and suffered him*

(without my knowledge) to fall into the hand of Power: that the Kingdome may not miscarry for want of a Ruler, I haue called you all hither by the power of my Legation. Yesterday the cause was moued in secret, to the greatest part of the Clergy, to whom the right appertaines to elect and ordaine a Prince. And therefore after hauing inuoked (as it is meete,) the Diuine ayde, Wee elect for Queene of England *the daughter of the peacefull, glorious, rich, and in our time the incomparable King; and to her, we promise our faith and allegiance.*

When all, who were present, eyther modestly gaue their voyce, or by their silence contradicted it not, the Legat addes: *The* Londoners, *who are (in respect of the greatnesse of their City) as among the optimacy of* England, *wee haue by our messengers summoned, and I trust they will not stay beyond this day: to morrow we will expect them.*

The *Londoners* came, were brought into the Councell, shewed *How they were sent from the Communalty of* London, *not to bring contention, but prayer, that the King their Lord might be freed from captiuity, and the same did all the Barons (receiued within their Liberties) earnestly beseech of my Lord Legate, and all the Clergy there present.* The Legat answeres them at large and loftily, according to his speech the day before, and added, *That the* Londoners *who were held in that degree in* England, *ought not to take their parts, who had forsaken their Lord in the Warre, by whose Councell the Church hath beene dishonoured, and who fauoured the* Londoners *but for their owne gaine.*

Then stands there up a Chaplaine to Queene *Maude*, wife to *Stephen*, and deliuers a letter to the Legat, which he silently read, and then sayd aloud, *That it was not lawfull in the assembly of so many reuerend and religious persons the same should be publikely read, containing matter reprehensible.* The Chaplaine not to faile in his message, boldly reads the Letter himselfe, which was to this effect: *That the Queene earnestly intreates all the Clergy there Assembled, and namely the Bishop of* Winchester, *the Brother of her Lord, to restore him vnto the*

Kingdome, whom wicked men, which were also his subiects, held Prisoner.

To this the Legat answeres (as to the *Londoners*) and shortly after the Councell brake vp, wherein many of the Kings part were excommunicated: namely *William Martell*, an especiall man about the King, who had much displeased the Legat.

Hereupon a great part of *England* willingly accepted of *Maude*, in whose businesses her brother *Robert* imployes all his diligence and best care, *reforming Iustice, restoring the / Lawes of* England, *promising relieuements, and whatsoever might be to win the people*; the Legat seconding all his courses.

The Legat leaues the Empresse.—Is intreated with teares by the Queene regnant.—But now, shee being at the poynt of obtaining the whole Kingdome; all came suddenly dasht by her ouer-hauty and proud carriage, and by the practise of the *Londoners*, who adhering to the other side, began openly to inueigh against her, who had displeased them, and they had plotted to surprize her in their Citie; whereof shee hauing notice, secretly withdrawes herselfe (accompanied with her Vncle *Dauid*, King of *Scots*, who was come to visit her and her brother *Robert*) vnto *Oxford*, a place of more security. The Legat himselfe takes, or makes an occasion to bee slacke in her cause, vpon her denying him a suite for his Nephew *Eustace*, the sonne of *Stephen*, about the inheritance of his Earledome of *Mortaigne* in *Normandy*. Besides, the Queene regnant, watchfull ouer all oportunities, found meanes to parle with the Legat, *Sets vpon him with her teares, intreaty, promises and assurance for the Kings reformation*; in so much as *she recalled him to the affection of Nature, brought him about againe to absolue such of the Kings part, as he had lately excommunicated.*

The Empresse besieged at *Oxford*, the Earle of *Glocester* taken Prisoner.—The Earle of *Glocester* seeing this suddaine and strange relaps of their affaires, striues by all meanes to hold vp Opinion, and re-quicken the Legats disposition, which

to keepe sound, was all. Hee brings the Empresse to *Winchester*, settles her, and her guard, in the Castle, where she desires to speake with the Legat, who first delayes, then denies to come. Whereupon they call their best friends about them. Queene *Maude* and the Lords incompasse the Towne, and cut off all victuall from the Empresse, so that in the end, the Earle of *Glocester* wrought meanes to haue her conueyed from thence to the *Vies*, but himselfe was taken, and in him most of her.

This sets the sides both euen againe into the Lists of their tryall: the two Prisoners are to redeeme each other: The disproportion of the quality betweene them, shewed yet there was an euennesse of power, and the Earle would not consent to the Kings deliuery (who onely in that was to haue the Precedence) but vppon most secure cautions. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the Legat, vndertooke to yeelde themselues Prisoners for him, if the King released him not, according to his promise: But that would not serue the turne, till they both had written their Briefes to the Pope, to intimate the course that was taken heerein, and deliuered the same vnto him, vnder their hands and seales. So that, if the King should, as he might not care, to hold the Bishops in Prison: yet the Pope, if hard measure were offered, might relieue them. Which shewes the aduantage of credit in the businesse, lay on this side, and the King was to haue his fetters though at liberty.

1142. *Anno Reg.* 7.—The Queene and *Eustace*, her sonne the Prince, vpon the inlargement of *Stephen*, remaine pledges in the Castle of *Bristow* till the Earle were released, which was done vppon the Kings comming to *Winchester*. VVhere the Earle in familiar conference, was, by all art possible, solicited to forsake the party of *Maude*, with promise of all preferments of honour and estate: but nothing could mooue him beeing fixt to his courses, and rather would hee haue beene content to remayne a perpetuall Prisoner, then that

Stephen should haue beene released, had not his sister wrought him to this conclusion.

The Legat, after this, calles a Councell at *London*, where the Popes letters, written vnto him, are openly read, which argue him (but mildly) of some neglect of his brothers releasing, and exhort him to vse all meanes Ecclesiasticall and Secular, to set him at libertie.

King *Stephens* complaint.—The King himselfe came into the Councell, complaynes, *How his subiects, to whom hee had neuer denied Iustice, had taken him, and reproachfully afflicted him euen to death.* The Legate, with great eloquence, labours to excuse his owne courses: Alledging, *How hee receiued not the Empresse by his Will, but necessity: that presently vpon the Kings ouer-throw, whilest the Lords were eyther fled, or stood in suspence attending the euent, she and her people came thundring to the Walls of* VVinchester*: And that, what pact soeuer hee had made with her for the right of the Church, shee obstinately brake all: Besides, hee was certainely informed, that shee and hers had plotted, both against his dignity and life: But | God in his mercy, contrary to her desire, had turned the businesse so, as he escaped the danger, and his brother was deliuered out of bands. And therefore he, from the part of God, and the Pope, willed them, with all their vtmost power, to ayde the King, annoynted by the consent of the People and the Sea Apostolique, and to Excommunicate all the disturbers of the peace that fauoured the Countesse of* Aniou.

There was in the Councell a Lay Agent for the Empresse, who openly charged the Legat, *That in respect of the faith he had giuen the Empresse, to passe no act there preiudiciall to her Honour: hauing sworn vnto her neuer to ayde his brother with aboue twenty souldiers; that her comming into* England, *was vppon his often Letters vnto her: and his cause it was, that the King was taken and held prisoner.* This, and much more sayd the Agent with great austerity of words, wherewith the Legat seemed not to bee mooued at all, nor would stoope to reply.

But both parts thus set at liberty, were left to worke for themselues, holding the State broken betweene them; and no meanes made to interpose any barre to keep them a sunder. Their borders lay euery where, and then the ingagements of their Partakers, who (looke all to be sauers or to recouer their stakes when they were lost, which makes them neuer giue ouer) entertayne the contention. But the best was, they were rather troubles then Warres, and cost more labour then blood. Euery one fought with Bucklers, and seldome came to the sharpe in the field, which would soone haue ended the businesse.

The Earle of *Glocester* gets to *Normandy*.—Some few moneths after these inlargements, stood both sides at some rest, but not idle, casting how to compasse their ends. The Empresse at the *Vies* with her Councell, resolues to send ouer her brother into *Normandie*, to solicite her husband the Earle of *Aniou*, to come to ayde her with forces from thence: Her brother the better to secure her in his absence, setles her in the Castle of *Oxford*, well furnished for all assaults: and takes with him the sonnes of the especiall men about her, as pledges to hold them to their fidelity. *Stephen* seekes to stop the Earles passage, but could not, and then layes siege to the Castle of *Oxford*; which held him all the time that the Earle was abroad. *Geffery* Earle of *Aniou*, desirous rather to haue *Normandy* (whereof, in this meane time, hee had attayned the most part, and in possibility of the rest) then to aduenture for *England*, which lay in danger, refused to come in person, but sends some small ayde, and his eldest sonne *Henry*, being then but eleuen yeares of age, that he might looke vpon *England*, and be shewed to the people to try if that would mooue them to a consideration of his right: which prooued of more effect then an Army.

The Earles returne with the Empresses eldest sonne *Henry*.—The Earle of *Glocester* safely returning, makes towards *Oxford* to relieue the Empresse, who had secretly conueyed her selfe disguised out at a posterne Gate, onely with foure

persons got ouer the Thames, passed on foote to *Abington*, and from thence conueyed to *Wallingford*, where her brother and sonne met her, to her more comfort after hard distresses.

1143. *Anno Reg.* 8.—*Stephen* seeing his enemy thus supplied, and like to grow, labours to win friends, but money failes, which made diuers of his Lords, and especially his mercenaries, whereof he had many out of *Flanders*, to fall to the rifling of Abbeyes, which was of dangerous consequence: And for Armies there was no meanes: onely about Castles, with small powers, lay all the businesse of those times, and they beeing so many were to small effect, but onely to hold them doing, which was for many yeares.

The Earle of *Glocester* dyes.—The Earle of *Glocester*, the chiefe pillar of the Empresse, within two yeares after his last comming out of *Normandy* died, and shortly after *Miles* Earle of *Hereford*, an especiall man of hers, which had vtterly quasht her, but that in stead of a brother shee had a sonne grew vp to bee of more estimation with the Nobility, and shortly after of ablenesse to vndergoe the trauailes of Warre. His first expedition at sixteene yeares of age was Northward to combine him with *Dauid* King of *Scots* his great Vncle, to whom his mother had giuen the Country of *Northumberland*. After him followes *Stephen* with an Army to *Yorke*, least he should surprize that City, and to intercept him in his returne: but according to his vsuall manner, and *French*-like, after the first heate of his vndertakings, which were quicke and braue, hee quailes: nothing was effected, and both returne without incountring.

An. 1151.—Now to aduance the State and meanes of *Henry*, Fortune, as if in loue with young Princes, presents this occasion. *Louys* the seuenth, King of *France*, going in person to the Holy warres, and taking with him his wife *Elenor*, the onely daughter and heire of *William* Duke of *Guien*, grew into such an odious conceite of her, vppon the notice of her lasciuious behaviour in those parts, as the first worke hee doth vppon his comming backe, hee repudiates, and turnes her home with

all her great dowry, rather content to lose the mighty estate she brought him then to enioy her person. With this great Lady matches *Henry* before he was twenty yeares of age, (beeing now Duke of *Normandy*, his father deceased, who had recouered it for him) and had by her the possession of all those large and rich Countries, appertayning to the Dutchy of *Guien*, besides the Earledome of *Poictou*. Whereuppon *Louys* inraged to see him inlarged by this great accession of State, who was so neere, and like to be so dangerous and eminent a neighbour, combines with *Stephen*, and aydes *Eustace* his sonne (whom hee married to his sister *Constance*) with maine-power, for the recouery of *Normandy*, wherein hee was first possest. But this young Prince, furnished now with all this powerfull meanes, leaues the management of the affayres of *England* to his friends, defends *Normandie*, wrought so, as the King of *France* did him little hurt; and *Eustace* his Competitor, returned home into *England*, where shortly after he dyed, about 18. yeares of his age, borne neuer to bee out of the calamities of Warre, and was buried at *Feuersham* with his mother, who deceased a little before, and had no other joy nor glory of a Crowne but what we see. *Stephen*, whilst Duke *Henry* was in *Normandy*, recouers what hee could, and at length besieges *Wallingford*, which seemes in these times to haue beene a peece of great importance and impregnable, and reduced the Defendants to that extremity, as they sent to Duke *Henry* for succour, who presently thereuppon, in the middest of VVinter, arriues in *England* with 3000 foote, and 140 horse. VVhere first, to draw the King from *Wallingford*, he layes siege to *Malmesbury*, and had most of all the great men in the VVest, and from other parts comming in vnto him. *Stephen*, now resolued to put it to the tryall of a day, brings thither all the power hee could make; and far ouer-went his enemy in number; but flouds and stormes, in an vnseasonable VVinter, kept the Armies from incountring, till the Bishops, doubtfull of the successe, and seeing how dangerous it was for

them, and the whole State, to haue a young Prince get the maistry by his sword, mediated a peace, which was after concluded in a Parliament at *Winchester*, vpon these conditions.

1. *That King* Stephen, *during his naturall life, should remaine King of* England, *and* Henry *enioy the Dukedome of* Normandy, *as descended vnto him from his mother, and be Proclaimed Heire apparent to the Kingdome of* England, *as the adopted sonne of King* Stephen.

2. *That the partizans of either, should receiue no damage, but enioy their Estates according to their ancient Rights and Titles.*

Resumptions.—3. *That the King should resume into his hands all such parcels of inheritance belonging to the Crowne, as had beene alienated by him, or vsurped in his time. And that all those possessions which by intrusion had beene violently taken from the owners since the dayes of King* Henry, *should be restored vnto them who were rightly possessed therein, when the sayd King reigned.*

4. *That all such Castles as had bin built by the permission of* Stephen, *and in his time (which were found to be* 1117*) should be demolished, &c.*

There is a Charter of this agreement in our Annals, which hath other Articles of reseruation for the Estates of particular persons. And first for *William*, the second sonne of *Stephen*, to enioy all the possessions his Father held before hee was King of *England*, and many other particulars of especiall note.

After this pacification and all businesse here, setled, Duke *Henry* returnes into *Normandie* and likewise there concludes a peace with the King of *France*, and for that hee would be sure to haue it, buyes it, with twenty thousand markes.

A. 1154. He reigned 18 yeares, and ten moneths.—And now King *Stephen* hauing attayned (that hee neuer had) Peace (which yet, it seemes / hee enioyed not a yeare after) vses all the best meanes hee could to repayre the ruines of the State, makes his progresses into most parts of the Kingdome, to reforme the mischiefes that had growne vp vnder the sword:

And after his returne calls a Parliament at *London*, to consult of the best meanes for the publicke good. After the Parliament, hee goes to meete the Earle of *Flanders* at *Douer*, who desired conference with him, and hauing dispatcht him, falls presently sicke, dyes within few dayes after, and was buried (in the Abbey he founded) at *Feuersham*, with the vnfortunate Princes.

A man so continually in motion, as wee cannot take his dimension, but onely in passing, and that but on one side, which was Warre: On the other, wee neuer saw but a glaunce of him, which yet, for the most part, was such, as shewed him to bee a very worthy Prince for the Gouernment. He kept his word with the State concerning the relieuement of Tributes, *and neuer had Subsidy that we find.*

But which is more remarkeable, hauing his sword continually out, and so many defections and rebellions against him, *He neuer put any great man to death.* Besides it is noted, that notwithstanding all these miseries of Warre, *There were more Abbeys built in his Reigne, then in an hundreth yeares before*, which shewes, though the times were bad, they were not impious.

The end of the Life and Reigne of King Stephen.

[See Appendix A., vol. v., for note and Author's quaint Errata apology.—G.]

The Life and reigne, of Henry the second; And first of the Line of Plantagenet.

1155. *Anno Reg.* 1.

THAT short time of peace, before the death of *Stephen*, had so allayed the spirit of contention, and prepared the Kingdome (wearied and defaced with Warre) to that disposition of quietnesse: as *Henry Plantagenet* (though a *French-man* borne, and at that time, out of the Land: long detayned with contrary Winds,

yet a Prince of so great possessions abroad, as might make him feared, to bee too mighty a maister at home; or doubtfull, where hee would set his seate: Whether carry *England* thither, (or bring those great States to this) was, notwithstanding generally admitted (without any opposition or capitulation, other then the vsuall oath) to the Crowne of *England*: which he receiued at the hands of *Theobald*, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the twentieth day of December, *Anno* 1154 about the three and twentieth yeare of his age.

Expulsion of Strangers.—And though he were a Prince *Young, Actiue, Powerfull, and had all that might make him high and presuming*: Yet the necessity of his owne affayres, were so strong raines to hold him in, from all exorbitant courses: as made him wary to obserue at first, all meanes to get, and retaine the loue and good opinion of this Kingdome, by a regular and easie Gouernment: beeing sure to haue the King of *France* perpetually awake, for all aduantages (both in regard of daily quarrells, common to mighty neighbours; as also for matching with her that came out of his bed, and brought away those mighty Prouinces from that Crowne, whereby he comes now to ouer-match him) beeing thus inuested in this powerfull Kingdome of *England*. Where, after hauing made a choyce of graue Counsellors, such as best vnderstood the state thereof; hee beganne at a Councell or Parliament held at *Wallingford*, with an Act (that both serued his owne turne, and much eased the stomacks of his people) *which was the expulsion of Strangers*, wherewith the Land was much pestered, by reason of the late warres that had drawne great numbers of them, and especially of *Flemings* and *Picards*, whom King *Stephen* especially trusted in his greatest actions, after hee grew doubtfull of the *English* fidelity, and had made their Leader *William d'Ipres*, Earle of *Kent*, who likewise was turned home, and his estate seized into the Kings hands.

Resumption of Crowne Lands.—Then, that he might subsist by his owne meanes, without pressure of his subiects, (whose

voluntary seruices, and contributions, would yeeld him more in measure, then if exacted) *he lookes to the State, and ordering of his reuenues, reformes the Exchequer, and reuokes all such Lands belonging to the Crowne, as had any way bin alienated or vsurped.* And though some of the great Lords stood out for the holding what they had in possession, as / *Hugh de Mortimer* for his Castles of *Clebury*, *Wigmore*, and *Bridgenorth*; and *Roger Fitz Miles*, Earle of *Hereford* for the City and Lands of *Glocester*: Yet the King tooke them by force as appertayning to the Crowne. Besides, he resumed the Castle of *Skarborough*, which *William* Earle of *Albemarle* held, and diuers other Lands and Castles in *Yorkshire*, possessed by priuate men. *Hugh Bigot* resigned his Castles into the Kings hands. And more, he tooke from *William* Earle of *Mortaine*, and *Warren*, base sonne to King *Stephen*, the Castle of *Pemsey*, the City of *Norwitch*: with other Townes and Castles, notwithstanding himselfe granted the same, in his agreement with *Stephen*: alledgeing, *They were of the Demaynes of the Crowne, and could not be aliened.* Onely he suffered him to enioy such lands, as his Father, King *Stephen* held in *England*, in the time of *Henry* the first.

Then goes hee Northward and recouers the City of *Carlile*, seizes all *Cumberland* into his hands; and after takes the Towne of *New-Castle*, with the Castle of *Bamberge*, and so resumed all *Northumberland*, which his Mother (the Empresse) had before granted to *Dauid* King of *Scots*, her Vncle (Grandfather to *Malcolin*, who now reigned) as being not in his Mothers power, nor his, to giue away any part of the Kingdome. Notwithstanding, he was content, *Malcolin* should enioy the Earledome of *Huntingdon*, which King *Stephen* had giuen to *Henry* Prince of *Scotland*, Father to *Malcolin*, as beeing a peece in the heart of *England*, whereof he could make no vse, but at the Kings pleasure: and besides, was a meanes, to hold him his Homager, and to performe those seruices belonging to that Earledome.

The King resumes the Earledome of *Aniou.*—And the same course tooke hee with the Alienations, and vsurpations formerly made of the Demaynes of the Duchy of *Normandy*, and forced *Theobald* Earle of *Blois*, to resigne into his hands two Castles, and *Petroch* Earle of *Perch*, other two. These *reuocations*, whereby so many were indamaged in their estates, *and Grants, both of his Predecessors, and his owne vtterly nullified*, might seeme, to be an act of great iniustice, and in a new Gouernment, of little safety. But in regard, the Common-wealth had thereby a benefit; and but few (though great) interested, it passed as a worke vniuersally necessary, seeing his Maintenance otherwise, must bee made vp out of publicke taxations; which would turne to a generall grieuance. But *the resuming of the Earledome of* Aniou *out of his brother* Geffryes *hands, contrary to his oath*, cannot but be held a straine beyond conscience and good nature. For his father *Geffrey Plantagenet* desirous to leaue some estate to his second son *Geffrey*, ordayned by his Testament, *That when* Henry *had recouered the Kingdome of* England, *the other should haue the County of* Aniou; and in the meane time, put *Geffrey* in possession of the Castles and Townes of *Chinon*, *Lodun*, and *Mirabell*, whereby hee might, both haue mayntenance for his estate, and a readier meanes to come to the rest when occasion serued. And *lest his sonne* Henry *should not performe his Wil, he got certaine bishops, and other nobles to sweare, that they would not suffer his body to be interred, till* Henry, *who was then absent, had sworne to fulfill his Testament: Henry*, rather then to suffer his Fathers body to lye vnburied, *with great vnwillingnesse takes this oath.* But afterwards being inuested in the Crowne of *England*, and *Geffrey* seazing vppon the Earledome of *Aniou*, he passes ouer into *France*, and not onely takes from him the Earledome, but also those three Townes he had in possession; alledging, *It was no reason, a forced oath (vpon such an occasion) should bind him to forgo the inheritance of his Birth-right, being all the Patrimony, that was to descend vnto him from his Father, and though he had recouered*

the Kingdome of England; *that was not his Fathers worke, but by an other right. And although he held his brother deare vnto him, yet hauing Children of his owne, he was to prouide, that what was his, should descend to them.* But yet was content, to allowe his brother an honorable pension (of a thousand pounds *English*, and two thousand pounds of *Aniouin* money nearely) for the mayntenance of his estate; and obtayned of Pope *Adrian* the seuenth (an *English* man borne) a dispensation for his Oath, made in this case.

1156. *Anno Reg.* 2.—His first expedition into *Wales*.—The punishment of Cowardize.—And now the first occasion, that put him here into action of Warre, was the Rebellion of the *Welch*, who, according to their vsuall manner, euer attempted some thing, in the beginning of the Reigne of new Princes, as if to try their spirits, and their owne Fortunes. / Against whom hee goes so prepared, as if he meant to go through with his Worke. Wherein at first, he had much to doe, passing a streight among the Mountaines, where he lost (with many of his men) *Eustace Fitz Iohn*, and *Robert Curcy*, eminent persons; and himselfe noysed to bee slaine, so much discouraged that part of the Army, which had not passed the Streights, as *Henry* an Earle of *Essex*, threw downe the Kings Standard (which he bare by inheritance) and fled; but soone, the King made it knowne, hee was aliue, discomfited his enemies, and brought them, to seeke their peace with submission. The Earle of *Essex* was after accused, by *Robert de Monfort* for this misdeede, had the Combate, was ouercome, pardoned yet of life, but condemned to be shorne a Monke, put into the Abbey of *Reading*, and had his Lands seised into the Kings hands.

1158. *Anno Reg.* 4.—It was now the fourth yeare of the reigne of this King; when, *all his affaires were in prosperous course, his State increasing, his Queene fruitfull, and had borne him three sonnes in* England, *Henry*, *Richard* and *Geffrey*: his eldest sonne *William* (to whom he had caused thé Kingdome, to take an Oath of fealty) dyed shortly after his comming to

the Crowne, so that now, the same Oath is rendered to *Henry*, and all is secure and well on this side.

The resignation of Nants to the King of *England*.—The King of *France*, who would gladly haue impeached the mighty current of this Kings Fortune, was held in, and fettered with his owne necessities: his iourney to the Holy Land, had exhausted all his Treasure, and since his comming home, the Pope had exacted great summes of him for dispensing with his second marriage, which was with *Constantia* daughter to *Alphonso*, King of *Galicia*, a feeble alliance, and farre off, so that all concurred to increase the greatnesse of this King of *England*; who hauing now almost surrounded *France* (by possessing first all *Normandy*, with a great footing in *Brittaine*, by the resignation of *Nants*, with the Country there about, which *Conan* the Duke was forced lately to make vnto him; then the Earledome of *Maine*, *Poictou*, *Touraine*, *Aniou*, (with the Dutchy of *Guien*) hee also layes claime to the rich Earledome of *Tholouse* vpon this Title:

King *Henries* clayme to the Earledome of *Tholouse*.—William *Duke of* Aquitaine, *grandfather to Queene* Elionor, *married the daughter and heire of the Earle of* Tholouse, *and going to the holy wars, ingaged that Earledome to* Raymond *Earle of S^t.* Gyles, *and neuer returned to redeeme it.* William *his sonne, father to Queene* Elionor, *eyther through want of meanes, or neglect, delayed likewise the redemption thereof; so that the Earle of S^t.* Gyles *continuing in possession whilst he liued, left it to his son* Raymond, *of whom King* Louys *of* France (*hauing married* Elionor, *the daughter and heire of the last* William) *demaunded the restitution, with tender of the summe for which it was ingaged. Raymond* refuses it, and stands to his possession, as of *a thing absolutely sold or forfeited; but being too weake to contend with a King of* France, *fell to an accord, and married his sister* Constance, *widdow of* Eustace *sonne to King* Stephen, *and so continues the possession.* Now King *Henry* hauing married this *Elionor*, and with her was to haue

all the Rights shee had, tenders likewise (as the King of *France* had done, in the same case) *the summe formerly disbursed, vpon the morgage of that Earledome.* And withall makes ready his sword to recouer it, and first combines in league and amity, with such, whose Territories bordred vppon it: as with *Raymond* Earle of *Barcelona*, who had married the daughter and heire of the King of *Arragon*, a man of great Estate in those parts, entertayning him with conference of a match betweene his second sonne *Richard*, and his daughter: with couenant, *that* Richard *should haue the inheritance of the Dutchy of* Aquitaine, *and the Earledome of* Poictou. Besides, hee takes into his protection *William* Lord of *Trancheuille* (possessing likewise) many great Signories in the Countrey: and one who held himselfe much wronged in his Estate, by the Earle of *Tholouse.* [See Appendix B, Vol. V.].

1159. *Anno Reg.* 5.—These aydes prepared, hee leauies an Army, and goes in person to besiege the Citie of *Tholouse*, and takes along with him *Malcolin*, King of *Scots*, who (comming to his Court to doe him homage, for the Earledome of *Huntingdon*, and to make clayme for those other peeces, taken from his Crowne) was entertayned with so many fayre words and promises of King *Henry*, as drew him along to this Warre. /

1160. *Anno Reg.* 6.—Prince *Henry* contracted to *Margaret* daughter to the King of *France.*—The Earle of *Tholouse* vnderstanding the intentions of the King of *England*, craues ayde of his brother in Law the King of *France*, who likewise with a strong Armie, comes downe in person to succour *Tholouse*, and was there before the King of *England* could arriue with his Forces; whereupon, seeing himselfe preuented, and in disaduantage, King *Henry* fell to spoyling the Country, and takes in *Cahors* in *Quercy*, where he places a strong Garrison to bridle the *Tholousains*, and so returnes into *Normandy*, gaue the order of Knight-hood to King *Malcoline* at *Tours*: augments his Forces, and enters the Country of *Beauuoisin*, where hee destroyes many Castles, and commits great spoyles. And to

adde more anoyance to the King of *France*, hee obtained of the Earle *de Auranches*, the two strong Castles *Rochford* and *Monford*, which furnished with Garrisons, impeached the passage twixt *Orleance* and *Paris*; in so much as the Warre and weather grew hote betwixt these two great Princes, and much effusion of blood was like to follow; but that a mediation of peace was made, and in the end concluded, *With a match betweene the young Prince* Henry, *not seauen yeares of age, and the Lady* Margaret *eldest daughter to the King of* France *scarce three: weake linkes, to hold in so mighty Princes. The yong Lady was deliuered rather as an Ostage then a Bride, to* Robert de Newburge, *to be kept till her yeares would permit her to liue with her husband.* In the meane time, notwithstanding, many ruptures hapned betweene the Parents: *The first whereof grew vpon the King of* Englands *getting into his owne hand the Castle of* Gisors, *with two other Castles vpon the Riuer* Eata, *in the confines of* Normandy: deliuered vp before the due time *by three Knights Templars, to whom they were committed in trust, till the marriage were consumated.* And this cost some blood: the Knight Templars are persecuted by the King of *France*, and the King of *England* receiues them.

The King seekes to abate the power of the Clergy, and the cause thereof.—But now the aduantage of power lying all on this side, and the King seeing himselfe at large (and how much hee was abroad) beganne to be more at home, and to looke to the Prerogatiues of his Crowne, which as he was informed, grew much infringed by the Clergy: which, since the time of *Henry* the first *Were thought to haue inlarged their iurisdiction beyond their vocation*; and himselfe had found their power, in the election of King *Stephen*, with whom they made their owne conditions, with all aduantages for themselues, whereby they depriued his Mother and her Issue, of their succession to the Crowne. And though afterwards by their mediation, the peace twixt him, and *Stephen* was concluded, and his succession ratified: yet for that, might hee thanke

his Sword, the Iustice of his cause, and strong party in the Kingdome. VVhat they did therein shewed him rather their power, then their affection; and rather put him in minde of what they had done against him at first, then layed any obligation on him, for what they did afterward. And his owne example, seeing them apt to surprise all aduantages for their owne aduancement, made him doubt how they might deale with his Posterity, if they found occasion; and therefore is hee easily drawne to abate their power in what hee could.

Complaints against the Clergy.—To this motion of the Kings dislike, the Lay Nobilitie (emulous of the others authority) layed more weights: alledging *how the immunities of the Clergy tooke vp so much from the Royalty, as his execution of iustice, could haue no general passage in the kingdom: the Church held their Dominion apart, and free from any other authority then their owne; and being exempt from secular punishments, many enormious acts were committed by Clergymen, without any redresse to be had;* and it was notified to the King, that since the beginning of his Reigne, *There had bin aboue a hundreth Man-slaughters committed within the Realme of* England *by Priests and men within Orders.*

1161. *Anno Reg.* 7.—*Thomas Becket* preferred to the Sea of *Canterbury.*—Now had the King, a little before (vpon the death of *Theobald* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*) preferred *Thomas Becket*, a creature and seruant of his owne, to that Sea. A man whom first, from being Arch-deacon of *Canterbury*, hee made his Chancellor, and finding *him Diligent, Trusty and Wise*, imployes him in all his greatest businesses of the State: by which tryall of his seruice and fidelity, hee might expect to haue him euer the readier to aduance his affayres, vpon all occasions. And besides, to shewe how much hee respected his worth and integrity, hee commits vnto him *the education of the Prince, a charge of the greatest consequence in a Kingdome*, which shall be euer sure to finde their Kings / as they are bred. At the beginning of this mans promotion, this reformation of Eccle-

siasticall iurisdiction is set vpon, *a worke (in regard of that time of deuotion) of great difficulty:* the Bishops hauing from the beginning of Christianity, first vnder the *Saxon* Kings, principally swayed the State; and though at the entrance of the *Norman*, they were much abridged of their former liberties, *they held themselues if not content, yet quiet.* For albeit they had not that power in temporall businesse as before; yet, *within their owne circle, they held their owne iurisdiction, and immunities; and had since, both by the Law, Ciuill Warres, and the occasion of Forraine affaires, much inlarged them.* So that any restriction, or diminution, of the power they had, could not but touch veynes that were very sensible in that part: especially, *by reason of the vniuersall participation of the spirit that fed them*; and therefore could not bee but a businesse of much trouble.

A Parliament at Westminster. 1163. *Anno Reg.* 9.—The King conuokes a Councell at *Westminster*, and there first propounds to haue it enacted, *That all such of the Clergy as should bee taken and conuicted for any hainous offence, should lose the priuiledge of the Church, and be deliuered to the ciuill Magistrate, to be punished for their offences, as other the Kings subiects were.* For, if after spirituall punishment, no secular correction should bee vsed; there would bee no sufficient meanes to restrayne them from doing mischiefe: seeing it was not likely, such men would much care for their degrading and losse of Orders, whom the Conscience of their calling did not hold in awe.

The Arch-bishop and his suffragans, with the rest of the Bishops, shewed the King *how they were not to yeeld to any such Act, being against the liberties of the Church, which himselfe had sworne to defend and maintayne; and therefore humbly besought him, that hee would not vrge any thing to the preiudice of their iurisdiction, and such immunities as they had hitherto enioyed, both vnder him and his Noble Progenitors.*

The King not liking this answere demaunds, *Whether they*

would submit themselues to the Lawes and Customes, which the Arch-bishops and Bishops, in the time of his grandfather Henry *the first did obserue?* They answered, *They would; their Order, the honor of God, and holy Church, in all things saued;* with which reseruation the King grew more displeased, the Parliament brake vp, and nothing effected at that time, for hee saw the Bishops fast to themselues, and the more by the animation of the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, whom hee thought (in regard of all those his graces bestowed on him) to haue found more yeelding to his courses, and therefore his indignation was most against him: And because hee would make him see what the displeasure of so mightie a King was, who could as well cast downe as aduance: *First denies him accesse: then takes from him what hee could possibly, countenances all such as were his opposites, his businesses in any the Kings Courts go against him, the Earle of* Clare *is supported in a contestation he had with him, about his Homage for the Castle of* Tunbridge, *and preuailes:* nothing is left vndone, that might bee thought to humble him. And besides the King wrought so, *As he vnties the knot, gaines first the Arch-bishop of* Yorke, *(the ancient Competitor with* Canterbury *in dignity) and after, the Bishops of* Lincolne, Hereford *and the especiall Prelates: and separates them both from the Councell, and company of the Arch-bishop* Becket.

Notice of this iarre being giuen abroade, a Messenger is sent from the Pope, and all the Cardinalls to reconcile it, and *to charge the Arch-bishop to make peace with his Lord the King and promise to obserue his lawes without exception.* The Archbishop pressed with this message, and the aduice of many great men, repaires to the King at *Woodstocke*, and there *promises in good faith*, without any euill meaning, *to obserue the Kings Lawes so farre forth as was required.*

A Parliament at *Clarendon.* 1164. *Anno Reg.* 10.—The Arch-bishop *Becket*, takes his oath to obserue the Kings Lawes.—The King supposing now, things better prepared for his purpose then before, calls a generall Assembly of the

Bishops and Nobility at *Clarendon*, where *Iohn* of *Oxford*, the Kings Clerke was President of the Councell: And a very strict charge is giuen from the King, *That they should call to memory the Lawes of his Grandfather* Henry *the first, and to reduce them into Writing:* which beeing done, hee willed the Arch-bishoppe and Bishops, to set their Seales thereunto. VVhich when the rest were content to doe, *the Arch-bishop* Becket *refused.* Yet at length, by the perswasion of the Bishops (vrging him to satisfie the Kings pleasure, and appease his wrath, in regard of his present danger, which, by the rushing vp and downe of the Kings seruants with threatning countenances, they suspected themselues likely to fall into) *He tooke his Oath to obserue the Kings Lawes without any reseruation.* And for the writing desired to haue a Copy, as if better to aduise there. And taking it into his hand, he turnes to the Clergy, and sayd: *Brethren stand fast, you see the malice of the King and of whom we are to beware.*

The King vseth all meanes to vexe the Arch-bishop.—So the Councell ended, but not the Kings displeasure against the Arch-bishop, whom onely hee found, durst beare vp against his power, the rest all yeelding thereunto, And therefore proceedes he, *by all meanes to vexe and disgrace him, and to aduance his Concurrent the Arch-bishop of* Yorke, *whom hee solicites the Pope* (*by his Agents* Iohn *of* Oxford, *and* Geffrey Riddle) *to make his Legat of all* England. VVhich the Pope (fore-warned, acquainted with this businesse) refused to do: yet at the petition of those Agents, granted *that Legation to the King himselfe, but so as he should do nothing to grieue the Arch-bishop;* which the King tooke as a great indignity, and sent backe his Agents with the Popes Grant.

The Arch-bishop repents him of his oath.—The Arch-bishop *Becket* after his oath at *Clarendon*, so repented, as *he suspended himselfe from the seruice of the Altar, & did sharpe penance till he had obtained absolution from the Pope.* VVhich (vpon his information of the case) was sent him. After this, as some

write, he attempts to depart out of the Kingdome, contrary to *a Law made at* Clarendon *(forbidding Archbishops, Bishops and other Persons to depart out of the Realme without the Kings leaue. Which, although they obtained, yet were notwithstanding to secure the King, neither in their going, returning or staying there, to practise any thing preiudicious to his State or Person.)* But being by contrary winds brought backe, he more exasperates the King against him.

A Parliament at *Northampton.*—The *Archbishop* called to account.—After this, he is summoned to an assembly at *Northampton* (holden about the ratification of the acts of *Clarendon*) where (to despite him the more) the Kings horses are placed in his Inne; and there, *First had he a case adiudged against him, concerning a Mannor, for which, one* Iohn *the Kings Marshall contended with him in Law; and besides the losse of the Mannor, was cast in arrerages, fiue hundred Markes,* which the King was said to haue sent him; but he alledged how it was giuen: yet because hee confessed the receite, and could not prooue the gift, hee was condemned to pay it. *Then was he called to render an account to the King of all such receits as in the time of his Chancellorship he had receiued for the King, of certaine Bishopricks & Abbeys during their vacancies, which amounted to* 3000 *markes.* For these accounts, he alledged, *How the King knew well, he was discharged before his election to the Sea of* Canterbury; *and how the Prince, the Barons of the Exchequer, and* Robert de Lucie, *chiefe Iustice of* England *had made him his acquittance for all accounts, & secular receits, in the behalfe of the king: & so (free and cleared) was he chosen to the administration of that office, and therefore would pleade the same no more.*

The King, notwithstanding, vrging to haue iudgement passe against him, both for this, his late attempts and disobedience, hee was commanded the next day to attend his Censure. The morning before he was to appeare, hee celebrates earely with great deuotion, the Masse of S^t^. *Stephen Protomartyr,* which

had these words: *Etenim sederunt Principes, & aduersum me loquebantur;* and so committing his cause to God, *sets forward to the Court in his Stole, his blacke Canonicall hood, carrying the Crosse in his right hand, and guiding his horse with the left.* The people seeing him come in this fashion, flocke all about him; he entring the great Chamber, sate downe amongst them, the King beeing within, in his Priuy Chamber with his Councell: from whom first came foorth the Bishop of *London*, and much blames him for comming so armed to the Court and offered to pull the Crosse out of his hand, but the Arch-bishop held it so fast that he could not. Which the Bishop of *Winchester* seeing, said to *London*, *Brother, let him alone, he ought wel to beare the Crosse. London* replies, *you speak brother against the King and it wil be ill for you.* After this comes foorth the Arch-bishop of *Yorke* (the heate of whose ancient hatred, sayth *Roger Houeden*, would not suffer him to speake in peace, and rebukes him very sharply, for / comming in that fashion, as if to a Tyrant, or heathen Prince, and told him, *That the King had a sword sharper then his Crosse, and if he would be aduised by him, he should take it from him. Canterbury* replies, *the Kings sword wounds carnally, but mine strikes Spiritually, and sends the soule to Hell.*

After much debate, the Arch-bishop *Becket* inuayes against this Violent proceeding against him: *How no age euer heard before, that an Arch-bishop of* Canterbury *had beene adiudged in any of the Kings Courts for any cause whatsoeuer, in regard both of his Dignity and Place; and for that hee is the Spirituall Father of the King, and all other his Subiects.* Then to the Bishops, *You see the World rageth against me, the enemy riseth vp; but I more lament, the Sonnes of my Mother fight against me. If I should conceale it, the age to come will declare, how you leaue mee alone in the Battell, and haue iudged against me, beeing your Father, though neuer so much a sinner. But I charge you by vertue of your Obedience, and perill of your Order, that you be not present in any place of iudgement, where my*

Person or cause comes to bee adiudged. And heere I appeale to the Pope: Charging you farther by Vertue of your Obedience, *that if any Temporall man lay hands on mee, you exercise the Sentence of the Church; as it becomes you, for your Father the Arch-bishop, who will not shrinke howsoeuer, nor leaue the Flocke committed vnto him.*

Complaints against the Archbishop.—Then were all these great complaints of his Contempt, Disobedience and Periury, exhibited, and aggrauated against him before the Assembly, and they cryed generally hee was a Traytor, that hauing receiued so many benefits at the Kings hands, would refuse to doe him all earthly honour, and obserue his Lawes as he had sworne to doe. The Bishops likewise, seeing all thus bent against him, *Renounced their Ecclesiasticall obedience vnto him, cited him to* Rome, *and condemned him as a periured man and a Traytor.*

Then the Earle of *Leicester* accompanied with *Reginald* Earle of *Cornwall*, came to the Arch-bishop, and charged him from the King to answere to what was Obiected vnto him, or else to heare his iudgement. *Nay, sonne Earle*, said he, *first heare you: It is not vnknowne to your selfe, how faithfully I haue serued the King, and how in regard therof he preferred me to the place I haue (God is my witnesse) against my will. For I knew mine owne infirmities, and was content to take it vppon me, rather for his pleasure, then Gods cause; therefore now doth God withdraw himselfe, and the King from me. At the time of my election hee made me free from all Court bondage, and therefore touching those things from which I am deliuered, I am not bound to Answere, nor will I. How much the soule is worthier then the body, so much are you bound to obay God, and me rather then any Earthly Creature: neither will Law or Reason permit the Sonnes to condemne the Father: And I refuse to stand eyther to the Iudgement of the King or any other Person; appealing to the presence of the Pope by whom onely on Earth I ought to be adiudged, committing all I haue to Gods protection and his; and*

vnder this authority I depart of this place. And so went hee out and tooke his Horse, not without some difficulty in passing, and many reproaches of the Kings seruants.

The Arch-bishop disguised fled out of the Kingdome.—Being gotten out of the Court, a great multitude of the Common people (reioycing to see him deliuered) and diuers of the Clergy conuayed him honourably to the Abbey of Saint *Andrewes*, whence disguised (by the name of *Dereman*) hee escaped ouer into *Flaunders* and so to *France.*

This businesse of the Church, I haue the more particularly deliuered (according to the generall report of the Writers of that time) in regard it lay so chayned to the Temporall affaires of the State, and bewrayed so much of the face of that Age, with the constitution both of the Soueraignty, and the rest of the body, as it could not well bee omitted. Besides, the effects it wrought in the succeeding Reigne of this Prince, the vexation, charge, and grieuous burthen it layed vppon him for many yeares, is worthie of note, and shewes vs what spirit had predomination in that season of the VVorld, and what Engines were vsed in this Oppugnation.

Presently vppon the departure of this Great Prelate, the King sends ouer to the King of *France*, *Gilbert* Bishop of *London*, and *William* Earle of *Arundell*, to intreat him, *not only to forbid the Archbishop his Kingdome, but to be a meanes to the Pope, that his cause might not be fauoured by the Church, being so contumacious a rebell as he was against his Soueraigne Lord.*

The King of *France* notwithstanding this intreaty, sends Fryer *Francis* his Almoner vnder hand to the Pope, to beseech him, as hee tendred the honour of holy Church, and the ayde of the Kingdome of *France, to support the cause of* Thomas *of* Canterbury, *against the Tyrant of* England.

The King sends Ambassadors to the Pope.—King *Henry* sends likewise with all speed, *Roger* Archbishop of *Yorke*, the Bishops *of Winchester*, *London*, *Chichester* and *Excester: Guido Rufus*, *Richard Iuechester*, and *Iohn* of *Oxford*, Clerkes:

William Earle of *Arundell*, *Hugh de Gundeuile*, *Barnard de Saint Walleric*, and *Henry Fitz Gerrard*, to informe the Pope of the whole cause, and preuent the Arch-bishops complaint. The multitude and greatnesse of the Commissioners shewed the importance of the Ambassage, and the Kings earnest desire to haue his cause preuaile. They finde the Pope at the City of *Sens*, to whom, they *shewed how peruers and disobedient the Arch-bishop had behaued himselfe to his Soueraigne Lord the King of* England; *how hee alone refused to obay his Lawes and Customes, which hee had sworne to doe; and that by his peeuish waywardnesse, the Church and Kingdome were like to be disturbed, which otherwise would agree in the reformation thereof, as was fit and necessary; and therefore they besought him, as hee tendred the peace of the Church of* England, *and the loue of the King their Soueraigne, not to give credit or grace, to a man of so turbulent and dangerous a spirit.*

This Information (notwithstanding earnestly vrged) they found moued not any disposition in the Pope to fauour the Kings cause, so that in the end, *They besought him to send two Legats ouer into* England, *to examine the particulars of this businesse, and how it had bin carried; and in the meane time, to admit no other information of the cause, but referre it to their relation.* The Pope refuses to send any Legat; the Commissioners depart without any satisfaction. And within foure dayes after, comes the Arch-bishop and prostrates himselfe at the Popes feet: deliuers him a coppy of those Lawes, which the King called his *grandfathers Lawes*, which being openly read in the presence of all the Cardinals, Clergy and many other people, *The Pope condemned them for euer, and accursed those who obeyed or any way fauoured them.*

Those Lawes among the Statutes of *Clarendon*, which the Arch-bishop so much oppugned (and most offended the Clergy) were (as by his owne letter to the Bishop of *London* appeares) these especially: *That there should be no appeale to the Apostolike Sea without the Kings leaue. That no Arch-bishop or*

Bishop should go out of the Realme but by the Kings Permission. That no Bishop excommunicate any, who held of the King, in Capite; or interdict any Officiall of his without the Kings leaue, &c. That Clergymen should be drawne to secular iudgement, That Lay-men (as the King and other) should handle causes of the Church, Tythes, and such like. And these were dangerous incroachments vpon their Liberties.

1166. *Anno Reg.* 12. The Kings Edicts against the Pope and his agents.—But now the King, seeing his Ambassage to take no effect, and withall, in a manner contemned, presently makes his heauie displeasure, and the scorne hee tooke, knowē by his seuere Edicts, both against the Pope, and the Arch-bishop, that they might see what edge his secular power had in this: Ordayning, *That if any were found carrying Letter, or Mandate from the Pope, or Arch-bishop, containing any interdiction of Christianity in* England, *he should be taken, and without delay executed as a traytor, both to the King and Kingdom. That whatsoeuer Bishop, Priest, Monke or Conuerser in any Order, Clergie, or Layman, should haue and retaine any such letters; should forfeite all their possessions good and chattells to the King, and be presently banished the Realme with their kinne. That no Clergyman, Monke or other should be permitted to passe ouer Sea, or returne out of* Normandy *into* England, *without letters from the Iustices heere, or from the King being there; Vppon paine to be taken as a Malefactor, and put in hold. That none should appeale to the Pope. That all Clerkes which had any reuenue in* England *should returne into the Realme within three months, vpon paine of forfeiting their estates to the King. That* / Peter Pence *should be collected and sequestred till the Kings pleasure were farther knowne.*

Besides this, hee banishes all that were found to bee any way of kinne to the Arch-bishop, without exception of condition, sex, or yeares. And withall, takes occasion vpon the *Schisme* which was then in the Church, to renounce Pope *Alexander*, and incline to the Emperours faction, which stood thus.

The Election of two Popes.—After the death of *Adrian* the fourth, *Rowland* a *Geneuese*, and a great enemy of the Empire, is by two and twenty Cardinalls elected Pope by name of *Alexander* the third, to which election foure Cardinalls opposed, and made choice of *Octauian* a Citizen of *Rome* that would be called *Victor* the fifth. The Emperor *Frederic Barbarossa* summons these two Popes to a Councell at *Pauia*, to vnderstand and determine their right. *Alexander* makes the old answere, *That the Pope could not be iudged by any man liuing*, refuses to appeare before the Emperour, and withdrawes into *Anagnia*. *Victor* consents to appeare there, or wheresoeuer the Emperour would appoint, so that, hee was the man for that side. But all the other Princes of Christendome (except those of the Emperours faction) acknowledge *Alexander* for Pope as elected by most voyces. And especially by the King of *France* who called him thither; and at *Cocy* vpon *Loyr*, hee and the King of *England* receiued him with all honour and reuerence, in so much, as they are sayde to haue attended vpon his Stirrop, the one on the right hand, the other on the left: after this, he calls a Councell at *Tours*, whither the Kings of *England*, *Spaine* and *Hungary* send their Ambassadors, and there are the constitutions of the Councell of *Pauia*, and the Emperours confirmation of *Victor* nullified, so that *Alexander* hauing his party daily encreasing in *Italy*, was shortly after receiued into *Rome*.

Notwithstanding all this, the King of *England* finding him so auers in this businesse, *Falls off from him, renounces his Authority, turnes to the Emperours faction, seekes to strengthen himselfe with the Princes of* Germany, *consents to match his daughter* Maude *to the Duke of* Saxony, *at the motion of* Reginald *Arch-bishop of* Collen, *sent ouer by the Emperor for that purpose, and intertaines a motion for another daughter to be matched with the Emperours sonne.*

Pope *Alexanders* Letter to the Clergy of *England*.—But now, by reason this contrary faction to Pope *Alexander* grew

to bee but feeble, all this working did the King no good, but exasperates the Pope, and sets him on the more to support the cause of the Arch-bishop, *Who solicites the Clergy of* England, *threatens, intreates, adiures them not to forsake their hold, nor giue way to the inuador of their liberties, which sought to confound the Priest-hood and the Kingdome: and if they opposed not mainly at the first, but suffered the least breach to bee made vppon them, they were vndone.* Then excommunicates hee all the especiall Ministers of the King that adhered to the *Teutonicque* faction, or helde intelligence with the Arch-bishop of *Collen*: As *Iohn of Oxford, Richard Iuechester, Richard de Lucie, Iossling Balliol, Alan de Neuile*, and with these all such as had entred vppon the goods of the Church of *Canterbury*, which hee called the *Patrimony of the Crucifix, and the foode of the poore*; and there were *Ralph de Brocke, Hugh Saint Clare*, and *Thomas Fitz Barnard.* Thus are both sides busied in this drie Warre, wherein, though there were no sword, yet it gaue vexation enough.

The King represses the *Welch.*—And yet this was not all the worke that tooke vp the Kings time; for during this dissention, the Welsh againe reuolt, and to suppresse them he spent much labour, with the losse of many great men, and was himselfe in that danger, as had not *Hubert Saint Clare* receiued a Wounde for him, by an Arrow aymed directly at his owne person, hee had there finished his part. In this expedition hee is sayd, to haue vsed extreame crueltie.

1166. *Anno Reg.* 13.—After this, hee passes into *Normandy* to bee neere his businesse, which now lay all on that side. And first to entertayne the opinion of Piety (though hee were falne out with the Pope) hee obtaynes at an Assembly of his Bishops and Barons of *Normandy, two pence in the pound, of euery mans Lands and goods to be payd that yeare* 1166. *and a peny of euerie pound to be paid for foure yeares following*, which was leuied for the reliefe of the Christians in the Holy Warre, and sent vnto them. /

Then hee raises forces and takes in certayne Castles in the Countrey of *Maine*, and Marches of *Brittaigne*, from diuers Lords and Barons that had disobayed him. And whilst he was busie abroade, *Mathew* sonne to the Earle of *Flaunders* (who had married the Lady *Mary Abbesse* of *Ramsey*, daughter to King *Stephen*, and had by her the Country of *Bologne*) attempted something on the Coast of *England*, either to try the affections of the people, or to make spoyle and booty, but without any effect at all, the King being too mighty for any such weake vndertaker.

And to distend his power yet wider, falls out this occasion: *Conan* Earle of *Brittaigne* dyes, and leaues one onely daughter (which hee had by his wife *Constance* daughter to the King of *Scots*) to succeed him in his State. The King of *England* being then in armes vpon the Marches of *Brittaigne*, deales with the Guardians of the young Lady to match her to his third sonne *Geffery*. The Nobilitie of that Country beeing then of a rough, and haughtie disposition (giuen to fewds and perpetuall quarrelling one with another) were wrought vpon, and a side is wonne of such as could doe most in this businesse; which is effected to the great contentation of the King of *England*.

The Death of *Maude* the Empresse.—This fell out to be in the 13. yeare of his Reigne, wherein, as some write, dyed his mother *Maude* the Empresse, a Lady of an high and actiue Spirit: illustrious by her birth, but more by her first match, and most by her sonne, whom she liued to see established in all these mighty States, in the glory of Greatnesse and Peace: Fertile in issue, hauing now had foure sonnes and three daughters, linkes of loue and strength (oftentimes in priuate families) though seldome in Princes; and shee left him in the best time of his dayes before any great tempest ouertooke him.

Three yeares after this, hee imployes most in *France*, about the ordering and clearing the bounds of his Dominions from vsurpation, or incroachments of neighbour Lords (whom his

greatnesse held in awe) and they must haue no more then hee would: especially hee settles and reformes the state of *Brittaigne*, which was very much out of order, and in mutiny about the late Match; which beeing somewhat appeased, hee keepes a solemne Christmas at *Nants*, and Royally Feasts the Nobility of the Countrey.

1169. *Anno Reg.* 16.—Then returnes he into *England*, where, lest Peace (by reason of his long and often absence) might afflict and corrupt his subiects, hee lookes to that Diuine and Almighty worke of Kings, the administration of Iustice, appointing certayne Commissioners as Syndicqs to examine the abuses and excesses committed by his Officers, and grieuously punishes the Shriefes of the Land, for extortion and bribery.

His Easter, he keepes at *Windsor*, whither repayres vnto him *William* King of *Scots* who lately succeeded *Malcom* his brother, and brings with him his younger brother *Dauid*, both to congratulate the King of *Englands* returne, and also continue his clayme to those peeces in the North, which hee pretended to be vniustly detained from that Crowne. The King entertaynes him, as he had done his brother with fayre words, and tells him, *How it was not in his power, to do any thing therein, without the consent of the state in Parliament; which if he would attend, there should be that course taken, as hee hoped might giue him satisfaction.* In expectation whereof this King came often into *England*, and once attended the King in an expedition into *France*, as his Predecessor had done before.

The Pope writes to the Bishops of *England*.—But now all this while, the wrath of the Church continues, and the cloud hangs still ouer him, daily threatning the great thunder-bolt. Although it seemed the Pope of himselfe, was not very forward to proceede to that extreamity, but would gladly haue quieted the Arch-bishop otherwise; *Who* (hee sayd) *had taken an ill time for this businesse, the King being mighty, and the Church in trouble;* and therefore writes he his letters to the Bishops of

London and *Hereford, willing them to deale effectually with the King, and to admonish him to desist from intruding vpon the liberties of the Church, and to restore the Arch-bishop to his Sea and Dignity.*

The Bishops answere to the Popes Letter.—The Bishopps wisely Answere the Popes Letter, in substance thus: *Wee haue* (sayed they) *done your* Holinesse *Message, and as much as was decent for the Maiestie of a King, instantly vrged him to satisfie your desire, made by vs: And if hee had erred | from the way of truth and Iustice, that he would not delay to returne thereunto; that he would not inhibit such as were desirous to visit the Church of* Rome, *hinder appeales, oppresse Churches and Church-men, or suffer others so to doe: That hee would call home our Father the Arch-bishop, &c. and persist in the workes of Piety; that hee by whom Kings Reigne might preserue vnto him his temporall Kingdome, and giue him an eternall in Heauen: And that vnlesse hee would yeelde to your Holy Admonitions, you, who had thitherto endured could in patience forbeare no longer.* Besides, we added this of our selues, *how it was to be feared, if he amended not his errors, his Kingdome would not long stand, nor yet prosper.*

The King receiued your admonitions with many thankes, much temperance and modestie, and answeres to euery point. First, hee protested that in no sort hee auerted his minde from your Holinesse, *nor euer purposed so to doe, but so long as you shewed him fatherly Grace, hee would loue you as a Father; reuerence and cherish the Church as his Mother; and humbly obey your sacred Decrees, sauing his owne Dignity, and that of his Kingdome. And if of late he hath not respected you with any reuerence, the cause was that, hauing with all his affection, and all his power stood to you in your necessity, hee was not answered worthily to his deserts vpon his recourse to you by his Ambassadour, but in euery petition had the repulse. And for hindring any which are willing to visit your* Holinesse, *he answeres hee will not, nor hath hitherto done.*

But *for Appeales,* by the ancient custome of the Kingdome, *Hee chalenges that honor, and cumber to himselfe: that no Clergyman for any ciuill cause shall goe out of the Land till hee had tried, whether he may obtaine his right by his Royall Authority, and Iustice at home; which if hee cannot, hee may (without any hinderance) when hee will, make his Appeale. Wherein, if any way hee doth preiudice* Your Honour, *hee offers, by the helpe of God to correct it, as it shall bee ordered by the Councell of the whole Church of his Kingdome. And for the Emperour, though hee knew him a Schismatique, hee neuer vnderstood hee was excommunicate. But if hee bee by vs informed thereof, or hath entred vnlawfull league with him, or any other, hee promises likewise to redresse the same, by the sayd Ecclesiasticall Councell of his Kingdome. And for our Father, the Lord of* Canterbury (hee sayth) *that hee neuer expelled him out of his Kingdome, but as hee went out of his owne accord, so also at his pleasure it was free for him to returne to his Church in peace: prouided, that his Maiestie might bee satisfied concerning those complaints of his, and haue him to obserue his Royall Dignitie, And if it can bee prooued, that any Church, or Churchman, hath beene oppprest by the King, or any of his, hee is ready to make full satisfaction, as shall be thought fit by the whole Councell, of the Church of his Kingdome.*

This (say they) *wee haue receiued in answere from our Lord the King, and wish wee could haue had it fully according to your desire; but these things we thought good to notifie to your* Highnesse, *that your* Discretion *may perceiue what is like to bee the conclusion of this businesse. The King stands vpon the iustification of his owne cause, ready to obey the Councell and iudgement of the Church of* England. *Whereupon wee thought good to beseech your Highnesse, that you would moderate, for a time, that zeale (which by the fire of the diuine Spirit, is worthily inkindled, to reuenge any iniurie done to the Church of God) and forbeare to pronounce any sentence of interdiction, or that last iudgement of abscision, whereby innumerable Churches may*

be miserably subuerted, and both the King and an infinite number of people with him, irreuocably (which God forbid) auerted from your obedience.

Then they tell him, *That better it were to haue a member bad, then cut off: abscision brought desperation: A skilfull Chirurgion might recouer an infected part, and how it were fitted to imploy some meanes to heale the Wound, then by cutting off a most noble part of the Church of God, to bring more disturbance to the same that hath too much alreadie. Though the King were stiffe, they ought not to despaire of the grace of God; that a Kings stomacke was then to bee wonne, when hee had wonne, and might not blush to yeelde, when hee had ouercome: Patience, and Meekenesse, must pacifie him, &c. And in conclusion, wee speake foolishly* (say they) *but yet with all Charitie: if it come to passe, that the Lord of* Canterbury *loose both his goods; And liue besides in perpetuall exile; / and* England, *(which God forbid) fall away from your obedience, were it not better to forbeare for a time, then with such zeale of seuerity to foster vp a party? what if persecution cannot seperate many of vs from you, yet will not there want knees to bow to* Baal, *and receiue the Pall of* Canterbury *at the hands of an Idoll, without choyce of Religion or Iustice: neither will there want suppliers of our* Chayres *that will obey him with all deuotion, and already many deuoure these hopes; wishing that scandalls may come, and straight wayes bee made crooked.*

Thus much out of their letters, which are the best peeces of History in the world, and shewe vs more of the inside of affayres, then any relations else. And by this we truely see what barres kept these two mighty powers backe from their wills, and yet how loude they threaten, and both afeard of each other.

Prince *Henry* crowned King. 1170. *Anno Reg.* 10.—But the King of *England* stood safe enough, and was like to haue his businesses runne in a strong and entire course, when by casting to make things safer then fast, hee layes open a way both to dis-joynt his owne power, and imbroyle his people with

diuision; which was by the association of his sonne *Henry* in the gouernment: *an act without example in this Kingdome*, and strange that a Parliament, an assembly of the State, conuoked for the same businesse, would in so wise times, consent to communicate the Crowne, and make the common-wealth a Monster with two heads. But it seemes, the strong desire of the King was such, for the loue hee bare his sonne, as hee would not be denied in this motion, nor hold it a sufficient Security, to haue twice before caused all the Kingdome to take an Oath of Fealty vnto him, and to haue resigned, vnlesse hee were crowned King, as hee was, with all vsuall solemnities the 14 day of *Iune* 1170, by *Roger* Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, and had homage done vnto him that day by the King of *Scots*, *Dauid* his brother, and all the Nobility of *England*. But now with what reseruations this was done, we are not particularly informed: whether there was an equall participation of rule, or onely but of Title; and that the Father, notwithstanding this Act, was to haue the especiall manage of the Gouernment, and the Sonne, though a King, yet a Sonne, with a limited power. Howsoeuer, this yong King shewed shortly after, *That a Crowne was no State to be made ouer in trust*, and layd much griefe, and repentance, vppon his Fathers forwardnesse.

What mooued the King with this precipitation (to bee before hand with his Graue) may be deemed the iealousie hee had apprehended by his Mothers example, who *for all the Oath of Fealty so often taken for succession*, was yet put by it, through the working of the Clergy; and now considering in what termes hee stood with them, and that although hee had wonne some few Bishops vnto him, was sure they loued him not, and what they might worke with the people, if himselfe should fayle, made him ouer-doe his worke.

The King of *France*, vnderstanding that his daughter was not Crowned with her husband (which by reason of her tender age was deferred) tooke it ill, and threatens King *Henry* the Father with Warre, if it were not presently done; which causes

him to make more haste backe againe into *Normandy* (leauing the young King in *England*) to satisfie or preuent this quarrelling Prince.

Beckets submission to the King.—And whilst he remayned there, meanes was made that the Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, (who had beene now six yeares in exile) was brought to haue conference with the King, by the mediation of the King of *France*, *Theobald* Earle of *Bloys*, and diuers great Bishops; which the King of *England* was the more willing to accept, in regard hee saw this breach with the Church might much preiudice his temporall businesses, whensoeuer they should breake out: And how the Arch-bishop continually was working the Pope, and all the great Prelates of the Christian World against him: which, *How much such a party as swayed the Empire of Soules might doe in a time of zeale, against a Ruler of bodies*, was to bee considered. And therefore descends he from the hight of his will to his necessity, and they meete at *Montmiraill* before the King of *France*, where the Arch-bishop kneeling at the feete of his Soueraigne Lord the King of *England*, sayd, *Hee would commit the whole cause in controuersie to his Royall Order, Gods honour onely reserued.* |

The Kings offer to *Becket*. *Beckets* reply.—The King (who had beene often vsed to that reseruation) grew into some choller, and sayd to the King of *France*, and the rest, *Whatsoeuer displeaseth this man, he would haue to be against Gods honor, and so by that shift, will challenge to himselfe all that belongs to me: But because, you shall not thinke me to go about to resist God's honor, and him, in what shall bee fit, looke what the greatest & most holy of al his predecessors haue done to the meanest of mine let him doe the same to me, and it shall suffice.* VVhich answere beeing, beyond expectation, so reasonable, turn'd the opinion of all the company to the Kings cause, in so much as the King of *France*, sayd to the Arch-bishop, *Will you be greater then Saints? better than Saint* Peter? *what can you stand vpon? I see it is your fault, if your peace be not*

made. The Arch-bishop replies to this effect: *That as the authority of Kings had their beginning by degrees, so had that of the Church, which being now by the prouidence of God, come to that estate it was, they were not to follow the example of any, that had beene faint or yeelding in their places. The Church had risen, and increased out of many violent oppressions, and they were now to hold what it had gotten. Our Fathers* (sayd hee) *suffered all manner of afflictions, because they would not forsake the name of Christ, and shall I, to be reconciled to any mans fauour liuing, derogate any thing from his honour?*

The King and *Becket* accorded.—This hauty reply of a subject to so yeelding an offer of his Soueraigne, so much distasted the hearers, as they held the maintenance of his cause, rather to proceede from obstinacy then zeale, and with that impression, the conference for that time, brake vp. But after this, were many other meetings, and much debate about the businesse. And the King of *France* (at whose charge lay the Arch-bishop all this while) came to another conference with them, vppon the Confines of *Normandy: Where, the King of* England *tooke the Arch-bishop apart, and had long speech with him; twice they alighted from their horses, twice remounted, and twice the King held the Archbishops bridel, and so againe they part, prepared for an attonement, but not concluding any.* In the end by mediation of the Arch-bishop of *Rouen*, the matter is quietly ended before the Earle of *Bloys*, at *Amboys.* And thereupon *Henry* the Father, writes to *Henry* the son, beeing then in *England*, in this wise: *Know yee that* Thomas *Archbishop of* Canterbury *hath made peace with me (to my will), and therefore I charge you, that he and all his, haue peace; and that you cause to be restored vnto him, and to all such (as for him) went out of* England, *all their substances, in as full and honourable manner, as they held it, three monthes before their going, &c.* And thus by this letter wee see, in which King, the commaund lay.

Becket returnes into *England.*—The Arch-bishop returning

into *England* (not as one who had sought his peace, but inforced it) with larger power to his resolution then before, *Suspends by the Popes Bull, the Archbishop of* Yorke *from all Episcopall Office, for crowning the young King within the Prouince of* Canterburie, *without his leaue, and against the Popes Commandement; and without taking* (according to the custome) *the Cautionarie Oath, for conseruation of the liberties of the Church.* Hee brought also letters to suspend in like manner, *The Bishops of* London, Salisburie, Oxford, Chester, Rochester, Saint Asaph, *and* Landaffe, *for doing seruice at the Coronation, and vpholding the Kings cause against him.* And by these letters were they all to remayne suspended, till they had satisfied the Arch-bishop in so much as hee thought fit.

Thus to returne home, shewed that hee had the better of the time, and came all vntyed, which so terrified the Bishops that presently (hauing no other refuge) they repayre to the King in *Normandy*, and shewed him this Violent proceeding of the Arch-bishop, *How since his returne he was growne so imperious as there was no liuing vnder him.* Wherewith the King was so much mooued, as hee is sayd in extreame passion to haue vttered these words; *In what a miserable State am I, that cannot be quiet, in mine owne Kingdome, for one only Priest? Is there no man will ridde me of this trouble?* Whereupon (they report) foure Knights, Sir *Hugh Moruille*, Sir *William Tracy*, Sir *Richard Brittaine*, and Sir *Raynold Fitz Vrs*, (then attending vppon the King, and gessing his desire by his words) depart presently into *England*, to bee the vnfortunate executioners of the same; but by some it seemes rather, these foure Gentlemen were sent with Commission from the King to deale with the Arch-bishop in another manner, *And first to wish him to take his Oath of Fealty to the young King: then to restore these Bishops to the execution of their function: | and thirdly, to beare himselfe with moderation in his place*, whereby the Church might haue comfort vpon his returne, and the Kingdome quietnesse.

The murthering of *Becket*.—But they finding the Arch-bishop not answering their humour, but peremptory and vntractable, without regarding their Masters message, grew into rage, and first from threatning force, fell to commit it, and that in an execrable manner: putting on their armour (to make the matter more hideous) they entred into the Church, whither the Arch-bishop was with-drawne, the Monkes at Diuine Seruice; and there calling him Traytor, and furiously reuiling him, gaue him many wounds, and at length strake out his braines, that with his blood besprinkled the Altar. His behauiour in this act of death, his courage to take it: his passionate committing the cause of the Church, with his soule, to God and his Saints: the place, the time, the manner and all aggrauates the hatred of the deede, and makes compassion and opinion, to be on this side.

The Murtherers miserable end.—The vnfortunate Gentlemen (hauing effected this great seruice, rifled the Arch-bishops house, and after weighing the foulenesse of what they had committed, and doubtfull whether the King, though they had done him a great pleasure, would seeme so to acknowledge it) withdrew themselues into the North-parts; and from thence pursued, fled into seuerall Countryes, where they all within foure yeares after (as is reported) dyed miserable Fugitiues.

The King of *France* informs the Pope of *Beckets* murder.—Soone ranne the rumor of this deed, with full mouth ouer all the Christian world: euery pen that had passion, was presently set on Worke. The King of *France* (himselfe) informes the Pope of the whole manner; with aggrauation of the foulenesse thereof, and incites him to vse the most exquisit punishment he could, *To vnsheath* Peters *sword, to reuenge the death of the Martyr of* Canterbury, *whose blood cries out for all the Church, and whose diuine glory was already reuealed in miracles.*

The Earle of *Blois* informes likewise.—*Theobald* Earle of *Bloys*, a great and graue Prince (elder brother to King *Stephen*) sends likewise his information to the Pope, and shewes him,

How he was at the peace-making betweene the King of England *and this blessed Martyr; and with what a chearefull countenance, with what willingnesse the King confirmed the agreement, granting him power to vse his authoritie as it should please the Pope and him against those Bishops, which had contrary to the right and dignitie of the Church of* Canterbury, *presumed to intrude the New King into the Royall throne. And this hee would iustifie by his Oath, or howsoeuer; and in this peace (sayth he) the man of God doubting nothing, puts his necke vnder the sword: this innocent Lambe the morrow vpon Saint* Innocents *day, suffered Martyrdome: the iust blood was shed, where the shot of our saluation, the blood of Christ is offered.* And then, *how Court dogs, the Kings familiars and domestickes, were his ministers to execute this horrible act, concluding with an exhortation likewise of reuenge.*

The Arch-bishop of *Sens* writes to the Pope.—But *William* Arch-bishop of *Sens* comes with a more maine out-cry, as if he would wake the Pope, were he neuer so dead a sleepe; and tels him, *How hee was appointed ouer Nations and Kingdomes, to bind their Kings in fetters, and their Nobles with manacles of Iron: that all power both in Heauen and Earth was giuen to his Apostle-ship: bids him looke how the Bore of the Wood had rooted vp the Vineyard of the Lord of Sabaoth, &c. and all, in that most powerfull phrase of holy writ.* And after, hauing bitterly enveyed against the King, vses these words: *It imports you, O most milde keeper of the Walls of* Ierusalem, *to reuenge that which is past, and prouide for the future. What place shall be safe, if the rage of tyrannie shall imbrew the* Sancta Sanctorum *with blood, and teare in peeces the Vice-gerents of Christ, the foster children of the Church, without punishment? Arme therefore all the Ecclesiasticall power you may, &c.*

The King declares his innocency by Embassage to the Pope. Pope and Cardinals denied audience, refused conference.—Such and so great was the vprore of the Church, raised vpon

these motiues, as notwithstanding the King of *England*, (then the greatest Prince of all the Christian world) imployed the most especial men could be chosen in all his Dominions, *for reputation, learning and iudgement, to declare his innocencie to the Pope: to vow and protest that he was so far from willing such a deede to be done, as hee was from doing it himselfe, and how grieuously hee took the matter when he heard thereof;* yet so deep was the impression setled before hand, and his name made so odious at *Rome*, as not onely the Pope denyed Audience to his Ambassadors, but euery Cardinall, and all other his Ministers, refused to haue any con / ference with them. Which, with the hard passage they had in going thither, by the many dangers and restraints they endured, and now the contempt they found there, did (as they signified to the King) much discourage them. Yet for all this, were there those braue Spirits among them, (as great Princes haue alwayes great Ministers) that neuer gaue ouer working to cleare their maisters honour, by Apologies, Remonstrances, and all whatsoeuer wit could deuise; and dealt so, as they kept off the great confounding blow of the highest Censure, though it were euery day threatned and expected. And hauing (by grauely vrging the mischiefes might follow in the Church, if a King of so great a State and stomacke, should bee driuen to take desparate courses) giuen some pause and allay to the first heate; they timed it out all that Spring, and a great part of the next Summer; when, although they could giue the King no great security, yet they aduertise him of hope. But the sending of two Cardinalls *â Latere*, *Gratianus* and *Viuianus* downe into *Normandie*, did exceedingly vexe him. For they were rough against him, and would haue interdicted him, and his Dominions: but beeing fore-warned of their comming and intention, he appeales to the presence of the Pope, and so put off that trouble. Returning out of *Normandy*, into *England*, hee giues strict commandement, *That no briefe-carrier, of what condition or order soeuer, without giuing good security for his*

behauiour to the King and Kingdome, bee suffered to passe the Seas.

The Conquest of *Ireland.*—Notwithstanding all the vexation the Church put this King into, hee left nothing vndone that concerned the aduancement of his affaires, but as if now the rather, to shewe his power and greatnesse, takes this time for an expedition into *Ireland* (hauing commaunded a Nauie of foure hundred shipps to bee readie at *Milford Hauen* for the transportation of Men, Victualls, and Armour) and sets foorth in the beginning of *Nouember:* an vnseasonable time, both for those Seas, and the inuasion of a Countrey not well knowne. But the businesse (it seemes) was well prepared for him, hauing had an intention thereof, euer since the second yeare of his Reigne; in which *Hee sent a solemn Ambassage to Pope* Adrian *the fourth, to craue leaue for the subdument of that Country, vnder pretence of reducing those rude people from their vicious fashions to the faith and way of truth.* Which the Pope willingly granted, and returnes the Ambassadours, with an aut[h]enticall concession thereof in writing, to this effect. *First, shewing how laudable a thing it was, and how fitting the magnificence of so mighty a King, to propagate his glorious name on earth, and heape up reward of eternall felicity in Heauen, by extending the bounds of the Church, reducing rude and vnlettered people from their vicious manners, to the verity of the Christian faith and ciuility. And then giues him power to inuade the same, and to execute whatsoeuer should be to the Honor of God, and good of the Country, with reseruation of* Church-rights, *and* Peter-pence (a penny of euery house yearely which hee had promised by his Ambassadors) and so concludes, with an exhortation *to plant men of good and examplar life in the Clergy, &c.*

Dermots complaint against *O Conor* to King *Henry.*—But the King at that time, hauing other occasions, left off the purpose of this, which comes now of late to bee againe imbraced by this meanes: *Dermot Mac Murrgh* one of the fiue Kings

which then ruled that Island, comes vnto him into *Aquitaine* to craue his ayde against *Rodoricke* the Great, called *O Conor Dun*, King of *Connaught*, who contending for the Soueraigntie of the whole, had chaced him out of his Dominion of *Lemster*.

Dermots offences.—The King of *England* (glad to finde a doore thus opened to his intention, that might yeeld passage of it selfe without beeing broken vp) intertaynes this eiected King with promises of ayde; and though hee could not as then furnish him, beeing ingaged in other great affaires, hee yet permits such of his subiects as would, to aduenture their Fortunes with him. But the occasion of dissention, betweene these two Irish Kings was indeede foule on the part of *Dermot, who had corrupted, and stolne away the wife of* Rodoricke, *and for that odious iniury, with his iniustice to his people (the common causes of ruining and transferring Kingdomes)* hee was by strong hand chaced out of his Dominion of *Lemster*; and thereupon makes out for Forraine ayde. And (hauing thus delt with the King of *England*) he betakes him into *Wales*, where first he wrought one *Robert Fitz | Stephen*, a man of a desperate Fortune (yet able to draw many voluntaries) to contract with him; and afterward *Richard* (of the House of *Clare*) surnamed *Strong-bow*, Earle of *Pembrooke*, commonly called (of his chiefe seate in *Monmouth-shiere*) Earle of *Chepstow* or *Strigill*, a Lord of high courage and worthinesse, which made him well followed: and of great possessions both in *England* and *Normandy*, which gaue him meanes for his entertainments. *Fitz Stephen* was perswaded by promise of rich rewards: The Earle, of marriage with *Eua* the daughter of *Dermot*, and the succession of the kingdome of *Lemster*.

The Conquest of *Ireland*, the beginning of *May* 1170, *Anno Reg.* 16.—*Fitz Stephen* with *Maurice Fitz Gerard*, his halfe brother by the mother, passed ouer first with a small company and landed at the place called by the *Irish Bag-bun*, which in *English* signifies *Holy*, and therefore interpreted as presaging good successe, whereof this rime retaines yet the memory, *At*

the head of Bagge *and* Bun, Ireland *was lost and wonne.* And the next day after arriued at the same place, *Maurice de Prendergast*, with other men at armes (*Triginta Militibus*), and many Archers in two ships, parcel of *Fitz Stephens* forces, which from thence marched to the City of *Weishford*, with Banners displayed, in so strange a forme and order (though their number were not foure hundred) as the *Irish* vnacquainted with so vnusuall a face of Warre, were ouercome with feare, and rendred vp themselues to their mercy, with their City of *Weishford*, which with the Countrey about was giuen by *Dermot* to *Robert Fitz Stephen*, for an encouragement to him, and hope to others. And there was planted the first Colonie of the English, which euer since hath continued, retayning still in a sort our antient attire, and much of our language, proper onely to that City and Countrey about, and called by a distinct name, *Weishford speech.*

1171. *Anno Reg.* 17.—The next yeare are new supplies sent out of *Wales*, and after, vpon intelligence of good successe, the Earle of *Pembrooke* arriues in the Bay of *Waterford* with two hundred men at armes, and a thousand other souldiers, takes the Towne, which was then called *Porthlarge*, puts the inhabitants to the sword (to giue terror to others, and make roome for his owne people) and there *Dermot* giues him his daughter in marriage, with the dowry of his Countrey, which, after his wickednesse had done, hee liued not to see more yeares (hauing had too many by this) and dyes miserably, leauing the Stile of *Ningal* (which signifies) *the strangers Friend*, added to his name in memory of his vnnaturall forsaking his owne Nation.

Strong-bow, after hauing secured the places gotten, marches (with those small forces he had) ouer the Island without resistance. *Rodoricke* the great (shewing himselfe but a little Prince) kept in the *Wildes* and fastnesses of *Connaught*, and neuer came to appeare before the enemy; who passing through the Country at his pleasure, takes what pledges hee would

the inhabitants to secure their obedience, and with as little labour possest himselfe of the City of *Dublin* the head of the Island.

Thus *Wales* got vs first the Realme of *Ireland*, and (which is most strange) without stroake of battaile: a thing scarce credible, that a Countrie so populous, a Nation of that disposition, should not lift vp a hand to defend it selfe, hauing, it seemes, eyther neglected the vse of armour, or else neuer beene acquainted with them (other then in a naked manner of domesticke fight one with another) whereby, the terror of strange and neuer before seene forces in order of Warre, layed them prostrate to the mercy of the *Ouer-runner*.

1172. *Anno Reg.* 18.—But the King of *England* aduertised of the prosperous successe of these Aduenturers and the estate of the Countrey grew in iealousie of them, thinking they presumed farther then their subiection would allow, and would make themselues that which they must be made by him, and takes away the glory of the worke that should be onely his; causes proclamation to be made: *That no vessell should carry any thing out of his Dominions into* Ireland, *and that all his subiects should returne from thence, and leaue off their attempts, otherwise to forfeit their Estates at home.* And withall sends ouer *William Fitz Adelm*, and *Robert Fitz Barnard* with some forces to prepare the way for him, who followed shortly after, and lands eight miles from *Waterford* the Eue of Saint *Luke*, *Anno* 1172. beeing the third yeare after the first *Inuasion* made by *Fitz Stephen*.

The *Irish* kings submission.—At his first landing, *a white Hart* starting out of a Bush was taken, and presented to him, interpreted as a presage of a white Victory. The next day hee marches to *Waterford* where he staied fifteene daies; and thither came to him of their owne accord, the Kings of *Corke*, *Limricke*, *Oxery*, *Meth*, and all of any power in *Ireland* (except *Rodorick* King of *Connaught*, who still kept himselfe in the fastnesse of his Countrie) *and submitted themselues with all the*

Clergy, taking their Oath of Fealty to him, and the yong King, and their Successors for euer; so these deuided Princes holding no common Councell for the publique safety: rather then to ioyne those hands that had so often scratched each other, fell all from themselues, and with the same emulation they had in liberty, stroue for their seruitude who would be first to receiue a forraine maister.

Henries reformation of *Ireland.*—From *Waterford* the King goes to *Dublin*, where, hee holds an Assembly of all these subiect Kings, with the Lords Spirituall and Temporall of *Ireland*, for the further ratification of their allegiance, and the ordering and reformation of the State. Which done hee causes the Bishops with the Clergie there to assemble at *Cassell*, and appoynts an especiall Chaplaine of his owne, with the Arch-deacon of *Landaffe* to bee assistants and aduisors vnto them for reformation of Church-businesses: which seemes to haue beene as disordred as the people. For though the Irish had beene long before Christians, it was after a wilde and mixt fashion, and therefore, according to his promise made to the late Pope, and to do a work pleasing to the present, it was decreed, *That all Church-lands should bee free from exaction of secular men; and that from thenceforth, all Diuine things should be ordered, and vsed in euery part of* Ireland *according to the manner of the Church of England*, beeing fit (as sayth the Cannon) *that as* Ireland *hath by God's mercy obtained a Lord and King out of* England, *so from thence they should receiue a better forme of life, and manners, then heretofore they vsed.*

His *Christmasse* hee keepes at *Dublin*, where he royally feasts all Kings and great men of the Countrey; the rest of his beeing there hee imployes in fortifying and planting Garrisons where most need required: he makes *Hugh Lacy* Iustice of all *Ireland*, giues him the keeping of *Dublin*, and besides confirmed vnto him and his heires, by his Charter, the Country of *Meth* to hold the same in Fee, for the seruice of a hundreth

Knights: hee bestowes on *Robert Fitz Bernard* the keeping of the Townes of *Waterford*, and *Weisford* (which he tooke from *Fitz Stephen* the first inuador) with charge to build Castles in them; and to humble the Earle *Strongbow*, and leuell him with the rest of his subiects, he takes from him all his dependants, and makes them his.

So was it but his winters worke to get a kingdome, which though thus easily won, it prooued more difficult and costly in the keeping, by reason the prosequution of a full establishment thereof was neyther by him or his successors (hauing other diuertments) euer throughly accomplished.

His purgation for *Beckets* murther. Both Kings sweare to these Articles.—On *Easter* monday hee sets out for *England*, where hee makes no stay, but takes the yong King along in his Company, and passes ouer into *Normandy* to meete other two Legates (*Theodinus* and *Albertus*) who were sent from Pope *Alexander* (but in milder fashion then the last) to examine the murther of the late Arch-bishop *Becket*. Foure moneths were spent in debating the matter, and in the end, the King by his Oath taken vpon the Reliques of Saints, and the Holy Euangelists, before the two Legates in the presence of King *Henry* the son, the Arch-bishop of *Rouen*, and all the Bishops, and Abbots of *Normandy* in the Citie of *Auranches* purged himselfe, of either commanding or consenting to the murther. Yet for that he doubted lest they who committed the same might be moued thereunto by seeing him disturbed, and in passion: hee tooke the same Oath; that in satisfaction thereof, hee would faithfully performe these Articles following: *First, neuer to forsake Pope* Alexander, *nor his Catholicke successors so long as they vsed him as a Catholick King. Secondly, that Appeales should freely be made to the Pope, in causes Ecclesiasticall.* Prouided, that if any were suspected, to worke euill to him, or his kingdome, they should then put in security before they departed. *Thirdly, that hee would (from Christmas next for three years to come) vndertake the Crosse, & the sommer*

following, in person goito Ierusalem, *vnlesse he were staid by the Pope, or his successors, or imploied against the* Sarasins *in* Spaine. *Fourthly, that in the meane time, he should deliuer so much money | into the Templars hands, as by their opinion would entertaine* 200. *souldiers in the holy War for one yeare. Fiftly, call home all such as had endured banishment for the Arch-bishop. Sixtly, restore his possessions. Seuenthly, and lastly, abolish all such customes as in his time had beene introduced to the preiudice of the Church.* After himselfe had sworne, he caused King *Henry* his sonne to sweare to all these Articles, except such as concerned his owne person. And for a more Memory in the Roman Church, hee caused his Seale to bee set vnto them, with that of the two Cardinalls. So ended this tedious businesse, that made more noyse in the World, then any hee had, and bowed him more: beeing his ill Fortune, to grapple with a man of that free resolution as made his sufferings, his glory; had his ambition, beyond this World; set vp his rest, not to yeelde to a King; was onely ingaged to his cause; had opinion, and beleefe, to take his part: Which so much preuailed, as the King seeking to maister him, aduanced him; and now is hee faine to kneele, and pray to his Shrine, whom hee had disgraced in his person; and hauing had him aboue his will, whilest he liued, hath him now ouer his Faith beeing dead. And yet forty eight yeares after this, sayth the French History, it was disputed among the Doctors of *Paris*, whether hee were damned or saued: And one *Roger* a *Norman* maintayned, hee had iustly deserued death, for rebelling against his Soueraigne, the Minister of God.

Henry the son is againe crowned with *Margaret* his wife.—To make the better way to the ending of this businesse, and content the King of *France*; *Henry* the sonne is againe Crowned, and with him *Margaret* his Wife, with permission shortly after, to goe visite *Paris*; where, this young King, apt enough (though not to know himselfe) yet to know his State, receiued those instructions as made his ambition quite turne

off his Obedience, and conceiue, *How to be a King, was to be a power aboue, and vndeuideable.*

1173. *Anno Reg.* 19. The homage of *Raymond* Earle of Saint *Gyles* for the Earledome of *Tholouse.*—And to further the birth of this apprehension, fell out this occasion, The Father euer awake to aduance his greatnesse, takes a iourney in person into *Auergnia*, and so to *Monferrato*; and there purchases a match for the price of fiue thousand Markes, for his yongest sonne *Iohn*, with *Alice* the eldest daughter of *Hubert*, Earle of *Mauriena* (then as it seemes) Lord of *Piemont* and *Sauoy*, with condition to haue with her, the inheritance of all those Countryes, contayning many great Signories, Cities, and Castles, specified in *Roger Houeden*, with all the circumstances and couenants, very remarkeable, of the contract. So vnto greatnesse (that easier encreases then begins) is added more meanes, and euery way opens to this actiue, and powerfull King, aduantages of State, in so much, as the King of *France*, was euen surrounded with the power, and dependances of this mighty King of *England*, whose Fortunes most of all the neighbour Princes (which subsist by other then their owne power) now follow. And being returned from concluding this match in *Piemont*, there comes to him lying at *Limoges*, *Raymond* Earle of Saint *Gyles* (by whom was giuen the first affront hee had in *France*) now to doe homage vnto him from the Earledome of *Tholouse*: And there became the man of the King of *England*, and of his sonne *Richard* Earle of *Poictou*, to hold *Tholouse* from them (by hereditary right) for seruice of comming vnto them vppon their sommons, and remayning in their seruice forty dayes at his owne charge: And if they would entertayne him longer, to allow him reasonable expences. Besides, the Earle should pay yearely, for *Tholouse*, and the appertinances, a hundred markes of siluer, or ten Horses, worth ten Markes a peece.

Henry the son takes displeasure against his father.—About the same time also came the Earle *Hubert* to *Limoges* (to

know what Land the King of *England*, would assure his sonne *Iohn*), who resolued to giue vnto him the Castles of *Chinon*, *Lodun* and *Mirable*. Wherewith King *Henry* the sonne grew much displeased, and heere mooued his Father, eyther to resigne vnto him, the Dutchy of *Normandie*, the Earledome of *Aniou*, or the Kingdome of *England* for his maintenance: in which motion, hee was the more egar beeing incensed by the King of *France*, and the discontented Lords, both of *England*, and *Normandy*, who were many, and falne, or wrought from the Father, vpon new hopes, and the aduantage of a deuided Soueraignty.

And though there were many other occasions of this defection of the sonne, from the / Father; yet, that this for these Castles should first be taken (may seeme to bee the VVorke of GODS especiall iudgement) beeing those peeces, which himselfe had taken from his owne naturall brother *Geffery*, contrary to his Oath, made vnto his Father, as is before related: so (as if to tell iniustice, that it must bee duely repayed) the same Castles are made to bring mischiefe vppon him, and to giue a beginning to the foulest discorde that could bee: VVherein hee had not onely the Children of his owne body, but the VVife of his bed to conspire, and practise against him.

For, hereuppon the sonne suddainly breaking away from the Father came to *Paris*, where, the King of *France* (who had no other meanes to preuent the ouer-growing of a neighbour but to deuide him) sommons and solicites the Princes of *France*, and all the friends hee could make, to ayde King *Henry* the sonne against the father, and to take their Oath, *eyther to disposses him of his Estate, or bring him to their owne conditions.* The young King likewise sweares vnto them, *Neuer to haue peace with his Father without their consents, and also sweares to giue vnto* Phillip *Earle of* Flanders, *for his ayde, a thousand pounds English by the yeare, with the County of* Kent, Douer *and* Rochester *Castles: To* Mathew *Earle of* Bologne *brother to the sayd Earle, for his seruice,* Kerton Soak *in* Lindsey, *the*

Earldome of Morton *with the* Honor of Heize: *To* Theobald *Earle of* Bloys, *two hundred pounds by yeare in* Aniou: *the Castle of* Amboys *with all the right hee pretended in* Tureine, *&c.* And all these Donations with diuers others, hee confirmed by his *new Seale*, which the King of *France* caused to be made. Besides, by the same Seale, *He confirmed to the King of* Scots, *for his aide, all* Northumberland *vnto* Tyne: *and gaue to the brother of the same King, for his seruice, the Earledomes of* Huntingdon *and* Cambridge. *To the Earle* Hugh Bigot *the Castle of* Norwich: *other Earles of* England, *as* Robert *Earle of* Leicester, Hugh *Earle of* Chester, Roger Mowbray, *&c. had likewise their rewards and promises of the* Lyons skin, *that was yet aliue.*

Besides, they draw into their party *Richard* and *Geffery*, whose youths (apt to bee wrought on, for increase of their allowance) are easily intised; and with them their mother inraged with iealousie, and disdaine for her husbands conceiued abuse of her bed. So that, this great King in the middest of his glory, about the twentieth yeare of his Reigne, comes suddainly forsaken of his owne people, and is driuen through distrust to hire, and entertayne strange forces; procuring twenty thousand *Brabansons* (which were certayne Mercenaries commonly called the Routs or Costerels) for the recouery and holding of his Estate. And some few faithfull Ministers hee had (notwithstanding this generall defection) who tooke firmely to him: as *William* Earle *Mandeuile*, *Hugh de Lacy*, *Hugh de Beauchamp*, *&c.*

But howsoeuer we haue seene the best of this Kings glory, and though hee had after this, good successes, hee had neuer happinesse; labour hee did by all meanes to haue qualified the heate of his distempered sonne, by many mediations of peace: offering all conuenient allowances for his Estate, but all would not preuaile: his sword is drawne, and with him the King of *France* with all his forces enters vppon his Territories on that side the Sea; on this the King of *Scots* seizes upon *Northum-*

berland; and makes great spoyles. The olde King complaines to the Emperour, and all the neighbour Princes his friends, of the vnnaturall courses of his sonne, and of his owne improuident aduancing him. *William* King of *Sicile* writes, and condoles his misfortunes, but lay too farre off to helpe him.

The King of *France* besieges *Vernoul*, a place of great strength and importance, which *Hugh de Lacy* and *Hugh de Beauchamp* valiantly defended, and after a monthes siege, they of the Towne (victualls fayling) obtayned truce of the King of *France*, and permission to send vnto their Soueraigne for succour, *Which if it came not within three dayes, they would render the Citty, and in the meane time their Hostages.* The peremptorie day was the Eue of Saint *Lawrence.* The King of *France* with King *Henry* the sonne, and with diuers great Lords and Bishops swore, if they rendred the Citty at the day appoynted, their hostages should bee re-deliuered, and no dammage done to the Cittie. /

King *Henry* the Father with all the forces he could make, came iust at the limitted day; disposes his Armie to strike Battaile with his enemies; but the King of *France* to auoyde the same, sends the Arch-bishop of *Sens*, and the Earle of *Bloys* to mediate a parle, which was appoynted the morrow: this day lost, lost *Vernoul.* For, to the morrow Parle, the King of *France* neyther comes, nor sends; but had entrance into the Towne (according to couenants) which contrary to his Oath, hee sackes, takes with him the hostages, and spoyle thereof: remooues his Campe, and leaues the King of *England* disappoynted; who that night, after hauing persued the flying Army with some spoyle, enters into *Vernoul* and the morrow surprises *Danuile* a Castle of his enemies, with many Prisoners. Thence he goes to *Rouen*, whence, hee sent his *Brabansons* into *Brittaine* against *Hugh* Earle of *Chester*, and *Ralph Fulgiers*, who had possest themselues almost of the whole Country; but beeing not able to resist the Kings forces in the Field, they with all the great men in those parts, and that side

of *France*, recouered the Castle of *Dole*; where they Fortified and kept themselues, till King *Henry* the Father came in person, besieged and tooke it; and with them, about foure score Lords, men of name and action. Whereuppon all the rest of the Countrey yeelded themselues.

This ouerthrow beeing of such import, so terrified the Aduersaries, as they negotiate a Peace, and a Parle is appointed betweene *Gisors* and *Try*, wherein the King of *England*, (though he had the better of the day) condescended to make offer to his sonne *Of halfe the reuenues of the Crowne of* England, *with foure conuenient Castles therein*; or if hee had rather remayne in *Normandie, halfe the reuenues thereof, and all the reuenues of the Earledome of Aniou, &c. To his sonne* Richard *he offers halfe the reuenues of* Aquitaine *and foure Castles in the same. To* Geffery, *the Land that should come vnto him by the daughter of the Earle* Conon. *Besides, he submitted himselfe to the arbitration of the Arch-bishop of* Tarento, *and the Popes Legates, to adde any allowance more as in their iudgments should bee held fit, reseruing vnto himselfe his Iustice and Royall power:* which yeelding grants, shewed how much hee desired this peace.

But it was not in the purpose of the King of *France*, that the same should take effect: for such peruersnesse and indignitie, was offered to King *Henry* in this Treaty, as *Robert* Earle of *Leicester*, is sayde to haue reproached him to his face, and offered to draw his sword vpon him; so that, they brake off in turbulent manner, and their troupes fell presently to bickering betweene *Curteles* and *Gisors*, but the French had the worse.

The Earle of *Leicester* with an Army, makes ouer into *England*, is receyued by *Hugh Bigot*, into the Castle of *Fremingham*. *Richard de Lucy* Chiefe Iustice of *England*, and *Humphrey Bohun* the Kings Constable, being vpon the borders of *Scotland*, hearing thereof, makes truce with the King of Scots. And haste to Saint *Edmonsbury* where the Earles of

Cornwall, *Glocester*, and *Arundell* ioyne with them: they encounter the Earle of *Leicester*, at a place called *Farnham*, ouerthrew his Army, slew tenne thousand Flemings; tooke him, his Wife, and diuers great Prisoners, which were sent vnto the King in *Normandy*, who, with his Army was not there idle, but daily got Castles, and Forts from his enemies, vntill Winter constrayned both Kings to take truce till Easter following; and the like did the Bishop of *Duresme* with the king of *Scots*, for which hee gaue him three thousand markes of silver, to bee payed out of the Lands of the Barons of *Northumberland.*

The Spring came on, and the truce expired: King *Henry* the Sonne, and *Phillip* Earle of *Flaunders*, are ready at *Graueling*, with a great Army for *England.* The King of *Scots* is entered *Northumberland*, and sends his brother *Dauid* with a power to succour the remnant of the forces, of the Earle of *Leicester*, which held the Towne of *Leicester*, but without successe: for *Richard Lucy*, and the Earle of *Cornwall* had before raced the City, and taken *Robert Mowbray*, comming likewise to ayde those of the Castle.

1174. *Anno Reg.* 20. *Henry* the fathers arriuall in *England.* King *Henry* visites *Beckets* Sepulcher.—King *Henry* the Father vpon his sonnes preparation for *England*, drawes his forces from his other imployments, and brings them downe to *Barbfleet*, arriues at *Southampton* with / his Prisoners, Queene *Elionor*, *Margaret* the wife of his sonne *Henry*, the Earles of *Leicester* and *Chester*, and from thence goes to *Canterbury* to visit the Sepulcher of his owne Martyr, and performe his vowes for his Victories. And they write how comming within sight of the Church, *He alights, and went three miles on his bare feete, which with the hard stones were forced to yeeld bloody tokens of his deuotion on the way.* And as if to recompence (the merrit of this Worke) they note, *How the very day when hee departed from* Canterbury, *the King of* Scots *to be ouerthrowne and taken at Alnwicke*, by the Forces of the Knights of *Yorke-shiere*, which

are named to be: *Robert de Stuteuile*, *Odonel de Humfreuile*, *William de Vescy*, *Ralph de Glanuile*, *Ralph de Tilly*, and *Bernard Baliol.*

The King of Scots his Prisoner.—*Lewis* King of *France*, hearing of King *Henries* passage into *England*, and the taking of the King of *Scots*, calls backe *Henry* the sonne, and the Earle of *Flaunders* from *Grauelin*, where they stayed, expecting the Winde, and besiedged *Roan* on all sides sauing that of the River. The whilst King *Henry* is quieting and setling the State of *England*, where hee had first the Castle of *Huntingdon* rendred vnto his mercy, sauing the liues, and members of the Defendants; then the Castles of *Fremingham* and *Bungaie*, which the Earle of *Bigot* helde by force of *Flemings*, for whom the Earles submission could hardly obtayne pardon, but in the ende they were sent home. From thence hee goes to *Northampton*; Where, hee receiues the King of *Scots* his prisoner, and the Castles of *Duresme*, *Norham*, and *Aluerton* rendred into his hands by the Bishop of *Duresme*; who, for all his seruice done in the North, stood not cleare in the Kings opinion. There came likewise thither *Roger de Mowbray* yeelding vp himselfe with his Castle of *Treske*: The Earle *Ferrers*, his Castles of *Tutsbury*, and *Duffield*: *Anketill*, *Mallory* and *William Diue*, Constables of the Earle of *Leicester*, the Castles of *Leicester*, *Montsorill* and *Groby*; so that within three weekes, all *England* was quieted, and all without drawing of sword, which in those manly dayes seemed onely reserued for the field.

King *Henry* fauours the *French* army.—This done, and supplied with one thousand Welshmen: King *Henry* with his Prisoners, the King of *Scots*, the Earles of *Leicester* and *Chester*, passes ouer into *Normandy*, to the reliefe of *Roan*: where those thousand Welshmen sent ouer the Riuer *Siene*, entred, and made way through the Campe of the King of *France*, slew a hundred of his men, and recouered a Woode without any losse of theirs. After which exployt, the King of *England*

(causing the gates of the City, to be set open, the Barracadoes taken away, the trenches they had made, betweene the French Campe and the City, to bee filled vp againe, with rubbish and timber) marched foorth with troupes, to prouoke the enemy, but without any answere at all. In the ende the King of *France*, sends away the weakest of his people before, and followed after with the rest, vppon sufferance of the King of *England*, by the mediation of the Arch-bishop of *Sens*, and the Earle of *Bloys*, who vndertooke that hee should the next day come to a parle of peace; which hee performed not.

The King and his sonnes reconciled as the Charter of Peace shewes.—But shortly after (seeing this action had so little aduantaged eyther him, or those for whom hee pretended to haue vndertaken it) hee imployes the former Agents againe to the King of *England*: and peace, with a reconciliation is concluded betweene him, and his sonnes. But with more reseruation on his part, then had beene by the former treaty offered, as hauing now, more of power, and the aduantage of Fortune; and yet yeelding so much, as shewed, *The goodnesse of his Nature was not ouer-swayed by his ambition*; all his proceeding in this Warre witnessing, that *necessity did euer worke more then his will.* (*Roger Houed.*)

And at the signing of the Charter of this Peace, when his sonne *Henry* would haue done him homage (which is personall seruice) hee refused to take it; because hee was a King, but receiued it of *Richard*, and *Geffery*. Yet after this, *Henry* the sonne to free his Father of all scruple, became his Liege-man, and swore Fealty vnto him against all men, in the presence of the Arch-bishop of *Rouen*, the Bishop of *Bayeux*, the Earle *Mandeuile*, and a great Nobility.

At the Concluding of this same Peace, the Earle of *Flaunders* yeelded up to King *Henry* the Father, the Charter made vnto him by the sonne for the remuneration, and had another confirmed for the pension hee had yearely out of *England* before this War, which was 1000. *Markes out of the Exchequer*,

afterward granted vppon condition of *Homage, and for finding the King of* England *yearely fiue hundred souldiers for the space of forty daies vpon summons giuen.*

This same businesse ended, the Father, and the Sonne makes their Progresses into all their Prouinces on that side, to visite and reforme the disorders of Warre, and to settle their Affayres there. *Richard* is sent into *Aquitaine*: and *Gefferie* into *Brittaine*, vppon the same businesse, and there left with their Counsells to looke to their owne.

1175. *Anno Reg.* 21. All Vacancies supplied by the King.—The two Kings, Father and Sonne shortly after returne into *England*, where reformation in the Gouernment needed as much as in *France*; and heere had the Archbishop of *Canterbury* summoned a Councell of the Clergie, wherein were many enormities of the Church reformed, as may bee seene in the Canons of that Synod. The King supplies all Vacancies, and giues to *Iohn de Oxenford*, (that great Minister of his) the Bishopricke of *Norwich*: Then takes hee into his hands all the Castles he could seize vpon; amongst other the Tower of *Bristoll*, which was rendered by the Earle of *Glocester*, and was neuer in his hands before. *Hee takes penalties both of Clerkes and Lay-men, who had trespassed his Forrests in time of Hostilitie*: for which he is taxed of wrong, *Richard Lucy* Iustice of *England*, hauing warrant by the Kings precept to discharge them for the same. But the profit which they yeelded him, made him take the stricter regard therein. For after the death of *Alaine de Neuile* which had beene chiefe Iustice of all the Forrests of *England*, hee deuides them into diuers parts, appointing *to euery part foure Iustices*, whereof *two to be Clerkes, and two Knights, and two Seruants of his Houshold, to be Keepers of the Game ouer all other Forresters, eyther of the Kings, Knights, or Barons whatsoeuer, and gaue them power to implea, according to the Assise of the Forrest.*

1176. *Anno Reg.* 22.—The King being at *Yorke*, there came vnto him *William* King of *Scots*, with almost all the Bishops,

Abbots, and Nobility of *Scotland*, and confirmed the Peace, and finall concorde which had formerly beene, in the time of his imprisonment, at *Faleise* in *Normandy*, before all the greatest Estates of both Kingdomes; the Tenour whereof is to be seene in *Roger Houeden.*

After this, a Councell is called at *Windsor*, whether repayre certayne Bishops of *Ireland*, and the Chancelour of *Rodorick* King of *Connaught*, for whom a finall concord is concluded, vpon doing Homage, Fealty, and a Tribute to be payd, which was, *Of euery ten Beasts, one sufficient Hide, within his Kingdome, and those Prouinces that held thereof.*

The Kingdome deuided into sixe parts for Iustice.—VVithin a while after, a Councell or Parliament is assembled at *Nottingham*, and by aduice and consent thereof, the King caused *The Kingdome to bee deuided into sixe parts, and constitutes for euerie parte three Iustices itinerants, causing them to take an Oath vpon the Holy Euangelists, faithfully for themselues to obserue, and cause inuiolably to be obserued of all his Subiects of* England, *the Assises made at* Claringdone, *and renued at Northampton*, which Assises were chiefly *for Murther, Theft, Robbery, and their receiuers: for deceipts, and burning of Houses*, which facts if found *by the Verdict of twelue men, the accused* were to passe the tryall *of Water Ordeil*, whereby, if not acquitted, *their punishment*, was *losse of a leg, or Banishment*, that Age seemed to hold it a greater example of a Malefactor miserably liuing, then of one dead, for as yet they came *not so farre as blood*, in those cases.

And yet wee finde in the Reigne of this King, that one *Gilbert Plumton* Knight, accused for a Rape, before *Ranulph de Glanuile*, Chiefe Iustice of *England* (desirous, (sayth *Houeden*) by vniust sentence to condemne him) was adiudged, to bee hanged on a Gibbet; VVhereunto, when hee was brought, and in the hands of the Executioner, the people ranne out crying, *That an innocent and iust Person ought not so to suffer. Balduin* Bishop of *Worcester*, a religious man and fearing God,

hearing the clamor of the people, and the iniury done to this miserable Creature, came foorth, and / forbade them, *from the part of the Omnipotent God, and vnder paine of Excommunication, that they should not put him to death that day, being Holy, and the Feast of Saint Mary Magdalen;* whereupon the execution was put off till the morrow. That night meanes was wrought to the King, who commaunded *a stay to bee made till other order were taken,* being informed that for the enuy which *Glanuile* bare to this *Plumton,* hee was desirous to put him to death, in regard hee had married the daughter of *Roger Gulwast* an inheritrix, whom hee would haue had *Reiuer* his Shriefe of *Yorke-shiere* to haue had; which act leaues a foule stayne of Iniustice, vppon the memory of this Chiefe Iustice *Glanuile*: In the time of whose Office, a tract of the Lawes, and Customes of the Kingdome of *England* was composed; which now passes vnder his name.

1177. *Anno Reg.* 13.—The charge giuen for businesses in these Assises, consisted but of very few poynts besides those fellonies, and was especially *for taking Homage, and Ligeancy of all the Subiects of* England: *Demolishing of Castles, the Rights of the King, his Crowne and Exchequer.* The multitude of actions which followed in succeeding times, grew out of new transgressions, and the increase of Law and Litigation, which was then but in the Cradle.

William king of *Sicile* matches with *Ioan* the kings daughter. —*William* King of *Sicile* sends and craues to haue *Ioan* the Kings Daughter in marriage. Whereupon the King calls a Parliament, and by the Vniuersal Councell of the Kingdome, granted his daughter to the King of *Sicile*; to whom she was shortly after sent, and there honourably indowed with many Cities, and castles, as may appeare by the Charter of that King. (*Rog. Houed.*)

But the great Match that was prouided for Earle *Iohn* became frustrate by the death of *Alice,* daughter to the Earle of *Mauriana,* and he is married to the daughter of *William*

Earle of *Glocester*, by whom he was to haue that Earledome. This *William* was sonne to *Robert*, brother to *Maude* the Empresse.

The same yeare also, hee marries *Elioner*, another of his Daughters to *Alphonso*, King of *Castile*, and takes vp the controuersie betweene him, and his Vncle *Sanctio* King of *Nauarre*, about the detention of certayne bordering peeces, of each others Kingdome, both the Kings hauing referred the businesse to his arbitration.

1178. *Anno Reg.* 24.—Likewise, the Marriage which should haue beene betweene his sonne *Richard*, and *Alice* Daughter to the French King, (committed heeretofore to his custody and gouernment) was agayne treated on, and vrged hard, by the Popes Legate to bee consummated vppon payne of interdiction. But yet it was put off for that time, and both Kings notwithstanding concluded a perpetuall League and amity to ayde each other against all men, and to bee enemies to each others enemies. Besides, they both Vowed an expedition, to the Holy Land in person, which they liued not to performe.

The King of *France* vppon a dangerous sickenesse of his sonne *Phillip*, vowes a Visitation of the Sepulcher of *Thomas* the Martyre of *Canterbury*: And vppon Lycence and safe Conduct of the King of *England*, performes the same with great Deuotion, and rich Presents. First, *Offering vppon his Tombe, a massie Cup of Gold*, and after, *gaue and confirmed by his Charter three thousand, sixe hundred Sextaries of Wine*[1] for the Monkes, annually to be receiued at *Poissi*, at the charge of the King of *France*; and beside, freed them from all Tolle and Custome, for whatsoeuer they should buy in his Kingdome.

1179. *Anno Reg.* 25.—After hauing stayed there three dayes, hee returnes towards *France*, Conducted by the King of *England* to *Douer*. The Sonne recouers health, but the Father lost his

[1] A Sextary is eight English quarts, and 36. Sextaries is a Modius of Wine.—*Bud.*

in this iourney; for comming to Saint *Denis*, hee was taken with a Palsie, and liued not long after. The weaknesse of his Age, and disease mooued him presently to haue his sonne *Phillip* (beeing but fifteene yeares of Age) to bee Crowned King in his life time, which was done at *Reimes*, *Anno* 1179.

1180. *Anno Reg.* 26.—*Henry* Duke of *Saxony* (who had married *Maude* daughter to King *Henry*) was expelled his Dutchy, and banished by the Emperour *Frederick* the third, for seauen yeares, for / detayning the reuenues, which the Arch-bishop of *Cologne* had out of *Saxonie*; and refusing to come vnto tryall at the Imperiall Chamber, according to his Faith, and promise made to the Emperour. So that hee was driuen to come (for succour with his Wife and Children) to his Father in Law, into *England*. Where hee remayned three yeares, and vpon the comming of the Arch-bishop of *Cologne* to visit the Sepulcher of *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, meanes was wrought to restore him to his Dutchy: and a motion is made of marriage for *Richard* the King's sonne, with the daughter of the Emperour *Fredericke* (notwithstanding the contract made with *Alice* daughter to the King of *France* long before) but the last intention was made frustrate, by the death of the Emperours Daughter.

King *Henry* sends his sonne *Iohn* to reside in *Ireland*, to the end (that the Maiesty of a Court, and the number of the attendants which the same would draw thither) might both awe, and ciuilise that Countrey: But hee beeing accompanied with many Gallants, young as himselfe, who scorning, and deriding the Irish (in regard of their rude habits and fashions) wrought an ill effect. For it turned out three of their greatest Kings (*Limmerick*, *Conact*, and *Corke*) into open act of rebellion: *Gens enim hæc, sicut & natio quæuis barbara, quanquam honorem nesciant, honorati tamen, supra modum affectant*, sayth *Giraldus Cambrensis*.

The King sends after monies giuen to pious vses by Testators of the Clergy.—Now this fayre time of peace, which King

Henry enioyed, gaue him leasure to seeke out all meanes to supply his Coffers, wherein hee was very Vigilant: And hearing of the great summes (which *Roger* Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, had giuen by his Testament to godly vses) sends Commissioners to finde out, and to seize the same to his owne vses, alledging, *That the Arch-bishop had giuen Iudgement in his life time, that it was against Law, any Ecclesiasticall person should dispose any thing by will (vnlesse before hee were sicke,)* and that himselfe had done contrary to his owne Decree. The Commissioners hauing found out, that *Hugh* Bishop of *Durham* had receiued of the Arch-bishop three hundred Markes of siluer to bee bestowed in those vses, demaund the same for the King. The Bishop replyes, *That hauing receiued it from the hands of the Arch-bishop, hee had according to his will, distributed the same amongst the Leprous, Blinde, and Lame; in repayring Churchs, Bridges, and Hospitalls: So that who would haue it, must gather it vp againe of them.* Which answere so displeased the King, as (besides the seizing vpon the Castle of *Duresme*) he wrought this Bishop much vexation.

The Vacancy of *Lincolne* held 18. yeares to the Kings vse.— His meanes certayne (besides the Reuenue of his Demesne, and the benefit of the Forrests) were not then great in *England*; which caused him oftentimes in his necessities to bee bold with the Church, and to hold their Benefices Vacant; as hee did the Bishopricke of *Lincolne* eighteene yeares. Hee made a new Coyne in *England*, which was round, decryed the Olde, and put all the Coyners to great ransome for corrupting the Olde money. And besides to saue his purse (in regard euery continuall charge of Horse, and Armour was heauy vnto him,) hee caused euery mans Lands and substance to bee rated for the Furnishing thereof. And first beganne the same, in his Dominions beyond the Seas: Ordayning, *That whosoeuer had a hundred pounds Aniouin money in goods, and chattle, should finde a Horse, and all Millitary furniture thereunto; and whosoeuer had in chattle forty, thirty, or twenty pounds*

Aniouin money, should finde a Corslet, Head-peece, Launce and Sword: or Bow and Arrowes, with a strict prohibition, *That no man should sell or pawne his Armour, but bee bound to leaue it when he dyed, to his next heire.* And this Order afterward, hee established in *England*, by consent of the State. The King of *France*, and the Earle of *Flanders* by his example did the like in their Countries. (1181. *Anno Reg.* 27.)

Great and manifold were the expences of this mighty King, in respect of his entertaynments, pensions, and rewards, hauing so wide an Estate, and so many euer in his worke, both of his owne, and others who must alwayes be fed. And besides, oftentimes he is faine to bribe the Popes Legates, in his businesse with the King of *France*, to haue them fauourable for his ends: to send many supplies, by their perswasions, and for his owne reputation, to the Holy Warre. /

1182. *Anno Reg.* 28. *Henry* 2. relieued Pope *Lucius* and the *Ierosolomitans* with great summes of gold and siluer.—*Anno* 1182. (sayth *Walsingham*) he relieued the necessity of the *Ierosolomitans*, with two and forty thousand Markes of siluer, and fiue hundred Markes of gold, which was in money, seauen and forty thousand, three hundred, thirty three pounds, sixe shilling eight pence. And when Pope *Lucius* distressed by the *Romans*, desired an ayde out of *England*, the King sent him a mighty summe of Gold and Siluer; in leauying whereof, the Clergie heere delt very circumspectly; for when the Popes *Nuncij* came to desire the same, they aduised the King, that according to his will, and honour, hee himselfe should supply the Popes occasion, as well for himselfe, as them: for that it was more tollerable, that their Lord and King, should receiue from them, the returne of that ayde, then that the Popes *Nuncij* should; which might bee taken for a custome to the detriment of the Kingdome.

Now (about eight yeares) had the peace continued betweene the two Kings, Father and the Sonne, when againe new flames of vnnaturall discord began to breake out; the occasion

whereof as farre as can be discouered (in the vncertaine passages of that time) wee finde to bee this.

1183. *Anno Reg.* 29. Great festiuals often-times break vp with great discontentments.—After a great Christmas kept at *Cane* in *Normandy*, with his Sonnes *Henry*, *Richard* and *Geffery*, the Duke of *Saxony* with his Wife and Children, besides a great Nobility of all parts: The King willed King *Henry* his sonne, to take the Homages of his brother *Richard* Earle of *Poictou*, and *Geffery* Earle of *Brittaine*. *Richard* refuses to doe it (but vppon perswasion) beeing afterwards content; his brother refuses to take the same. Whereuppon with great indignation *Richard* departs from his Fathers Court in *Poictou*; Mans and furnishes his Castles there. The King his brother followes by instigation of the Barons of *Poictou* and *Aquitaine*, who were falne from *Richard*, and adhered to the young King (as men that vnderstood what would become of younger brothers estates in such Dominions, where the elder brothers birthright, and power, would carry all) and *Geffery* Earle of *Brittaine* takes the King his brothers part, comes with forces to ayde him.

Henry and his sonnes accorded.—*Richard* sends for succour to his Father, who with a powerfull Army (rather to constrayne them to a peace, then to make Warre) came downe into *Poictou*, where againe his three Sonnes after the debatement of their grieuances swore to obey, and serue their Father, and to hold perpetuall peace among themselues. And for the farther ratification of this Concord, they meete at *Mirabel*, where *Henry* the Sonne, desires, that the Barons of *Poictou* and *Aquitaine* (whom hee had sworne to defend against his brother *Richard*) might bee there at the concluding this peace, and to bee pardoned for any former act committed. Which request is granted, and *Geffery* Earle of *Brittaine* sent to bring the Barons thither. But the Barons (holding this peace, either not safe, or not profitable) so worke, as they win the messenger to take their part against the Father, and keepe him with them.

Henry the sonne notwithstanding, continues to mediate still for the Barons, and to get his Father, and brother *Richard* to receiue them into grace. And vndertaking to bring in both them, and his brother *Geffery*, is permitted by the Father to goe treate with them at *Limoges*; whether also, by another way, and with small Company, it was agreed the Father should come, which he did; but his approach was met with arrowes, so dangerously shot at his person, as the next man to him was slayne, and himselfe with his sonne *Richard* forced to retire from the place. And yet afterwards, desirous out of a Fatherly affection to haue conference with his sonnes for the quiet ending of this businesse, (vpon their assurance of his safety) hee enters into the City: When againe from the Castle is shot a barbed arrow, which had tooke him directly on the breast, had not his Horse by the suddaine lifting vp his head, receiued it in the fore-head. Which act his sonnes neuer sought to finde out and punish, but still vnder-hand held amity with the Barons. At length, notwithstanding King *Henry* the sonne comes to the Father, and protests, that vnlesse the Barons would come and yeelde themselues at the Kings feete, hee would vtterly renounce them: And after, hauing againe (vppon his Fathers promise of pardon and peace) dealt with them; and finding as hee auowed their obstinacy, made shew to forsake their party, and returnes to his Father with great submission, deliuering / vp vnto him his Horse and Armour in assurance thereof.

The inconstancy of king *Henry* the sonne. His vowe.—But many dayes hee spent not with him, when againe (eyther for the intended reuenge hee found his Father meant to prosecute against the Barons) whose protection hauing vndertaken, hee held himselfe in this honour, engaged to preserue: or by the working of some mutinous Ministers about him, whose element was not peace: he againe enters Oath and League with them. But therein finding his power short of his will, and desperate of all successe in his courses; hee

suddainly breakes out into an extreame passion before his Father, falls prostrate at the Shrine of Saint *Martial*, and vowes presently to take vpon him the Crosse, and to give ouer all worldly businesse beside.

His resolution.—With which strange and suddaine passion, the Father much mooued, besought his son with teares to alter that rash resolution, and to tell him truly, whether indignation or religion induced him thereunto. The sonne protests, that it was meerely for the remission of his sinnes, committed against his person. And vnlesse his Father would now giue him leaue (without which hee could not goe) he would there instantly kill himselfe in his presence. The Father (after hauing vsed all meanes to disswade him, and finding him still obstinate) sayd vnto him, *Sonne, Gods will be done, and yours, for your furnishing, I will take such order as shall befit your Estate.*

His request for the Barons of *Aquitaine.* His Death.—The sonne (whilst the Fathers passion had made him tender) wrought thereuppon, and besought him, that he would deale mercifully with those of the Castles of *Limoges*, the Barons of *Aquitaine*, and pardon them. To which, the Father in the end (though vnwillingly) yeelds, so that they would put in their pledges for securing their fidelity, and the peace; which they seemed content to doe. But vpon the deliuery, and receiuing of these pledges, new ryots were committed, by such as could not endure the peace (which is neuer faithfull, but where men are voluntary pacified): and these young Princes againe take part with their Confederates, and are made the heads of rebellion, committing rapine, and sacriledge to supply their necessities, and feede their followers. And in the end, the young King hauing much strugled in vaine, through griefe and vexation of spirit (which caused the distemperature of body) fell into a burning feuer with the fluxe, whereof, within few dayes hee dyed. A Prince of excellent parts, who was first cast away by his Fathers indulgence, and after by his

rigor; not suffering him to be what himselfe had made him, neither got hee so much by his Coronation, as to haue a name *in the Catalogue* of the Kings of *England*.

The sorrow of the Father (although it be sayd to bee great) hindred not his reuenge vpon the Barons of *Aquitaine*; whom he now most eagerly persecuted, seazed on their Castles, and raced to the ground that of *Lymoges*.

Earle *Gefferies* submission and death.—*Geffery* vpon his submission, is receiued into grace, and the yeare after dyed at *Paris*: hauing (in a conflict) beene troden vnder horses feete, and miserably crushed: so that halfe the male issue wherein this King was vnfortunate, hee saw extinct before him, and that by deaths as violent, as were their dispositions. The other two, who suruiued him, were no lesse miserable in their ends.

1184. *Anno Reg.* 30. *Henry* the second doth homage to *Philip* king of *France*. The Earle of *Flanders* compels the King of *France* to compound.—Now the young King of *France*, *Phillip* the second (in whose fate it was, to do more then euer his Father could effect, vpon the death of *Henry* the sonne) requires the deliuery of the Country of *Vexlin*, which was giuen in dowre with his Sister *Margaret*; but the King of *England*, (not apt to let goe any thing of what hee had in possession) was content to pay yearely to the Queene *Dowager*, 17050. pounds *Aniouin*. And the more to hold faire with this young King, whose spirit, hee saw, grew great, and actiue, and with whom hee was like to haue much to doe, did homage vnto him, for all hee held in *France*, which hee neuer did to the Father, beeing the first descent of Maiesty, he euer made to any secular power. And beside, tooke his part against *Phillip* Earle of *Flanders*, who opposed against him, and was in those dayes a Prince of mighty power, and had euer stood fast vnto King *Lewis* the Father. But now *Phillip* the sonne otherwise led, or affectioned, quarrels with him, and demaunds the Country of *Vermemdois*, as appertayning to the Crowne of

France: and withall, vppon allegation of consanguinity, repudiates his wife, Neece to this Earle of *Flanders*, giuen vnto him by his Fathers choyce / a little before his death. The Earle followed by *Odo* Earle of *Burgogne*, the Earles of *Champaigne*, *Hainalt*, *Namur*, Saint *Pol*, and others, warres vpon the King of *France*, and commits great spoyles within his territories, so that hee was faine in the ende to compound with him to his disaduantage. After this, the Kings of *England*, and *France*, meete betweene *Gisors* and *Try*; where the King of *England* sweares to deliuer *Alice*, vnto *Richard* his sonne. And the King of *France* her brother grants her in Dowery, the Countrey of *Vexlin*, which *Margaret* his other Sister had before.

1185, *Anno Reg.* 31. The Kings of *England* and *France* accorded, and prepare for the Holy VVarre.—But these tyes held them not long together, for the young King of *France* so wrought with *Richard*, as hee drew him from his Fathers obedience, and they liued together in that amity, as one bed and boord is sayd to haue serued them, both which so enicalousedthe old King, as hee called home his sonne, and before his Bishops and Nobility, caused him to sweare vppon the Euangelists, to obserue fealty vnto him, against all persons whatsoeuer; which hauing done, and ready to passe ouer into *England*, he is informed of the great preparation made by the King of *France*, who gaue out, that hee would spoyle and ransacke both *Normandy*, and the rest of the King of *Englands* territories in *France*; vnlesse hee would presently deliuer vp his sister *Alice* vnto *Richard*, or render *Gisors*, and the Countrey of *Vexlin* into his hands. VVhereuppon the King returnes backe, and comes againe to a parle betweene *Gisors* and *Try*. Where, the Arch-bishop of *Try* (sent from the East to call vp ayde for the Holy VVarre) did with that power of perswasion so vrge his message, as it let out all the humour of priuate rancor and contention, betweene these two great Kings, altered their whole Counsells, their pretensions, their designes: turned them wholly to vndertake in person this labourious action, and

resolue to leaue their Kingdomes, their pleasures, and all the things of glory they had at home, to prosecute the same, through all the distemperatures of climes, and difficulties of passages, whereunto that voyage was obnoxious: so that now, no other thing was thought or talked on, but onely preparations, and furnishments for this businesse.

And to distinguish their people, and followers (who all stroue which should bee most forward) it was ordered that they who followed the King of *England*, should weare a white Crosse; *France* a red; and *Flaunders* a greene. And for a further ingagement in the businesse, the King of *England* writes to the Patriarch of *Antioch*, a most comfortable and pious Letter: in the end whereof he hath these words, *Amongst other Princes, I and my Sonne, reiecting the glory of this World, and despising all the pleasures thereof, in proper person, will, God willing visite you shortly.*

Then to rayse money to defray this great enterprize, it was ordayned by the two Kings their Arch-bishops, Bishops, Earles, and other in *France*, that all whosoeuer, as well Clerke as Lay (sauing such as went the Voyage) should pay the tenth of all their reuenues of that yeare, and the tenth of all their Mooueables and Chattels; as well in gold as siluer. And many excellent orders were made for restraynt of licentiousnesse both in apparrell, and manners, as was fitting for the vndertakers of so ciuill and deuout an action.

1186. *Anno Reg.* 33.—Prouision by King *Henry* in *England*. The King of *England* hauing layde this imposition vppon all his Dominions in *France*, comes ouer, calls a Councell of his Bishops, Abbots, Earles, Barrons, both of the Clergy, and Laiety at *Gaynington*, and by their consents imposes the same taxation vppon his Subiects of *England*. *Sub Eleemosinæ titulo vitium rapacitatis includens*, sayth *Walsingham*, and presently sends forth his Officers into euery Shiere, to Collect the same according as it was done in *France*. But of euery City in *England*, he caused a choyce to be made of the richest men:

as in *London* of two hundred, in *Yorke* a hundred, and so according to the proportion of the rest; and caused all these, at a certayne time and place to appeare before him; of whom hee tooke the tenth of all their Mooueables, by the estimation of credible men which knew their estates: such as refused hee imprisoned till they had payde it, of which example and exaction, wee must onely hold Piety guilty: otherwise those times had not yeelded it.

The King sends likewise *Hugh* Bishop of *Duresme*, with other Commissioners, to *William* / King of *Scots* to collect the tenthes in his Countrey, which hee would not permit, but offered to giue the King of *England* fiue thousand Markes of siluer for those tenthes, and the Castle which hee claymed but the King of *England* refused the same.

1187. *Anno Reg.* 33. A meane quarrell dashes and diuerts the great preparation for the Holy War, and layes it vppon the selfe kingdomes.—Whilst these preparations were in hand, and the money collecting, a quarrell arises betweene *Richard* Earle of *Poictou*, and *Raymond* Earle of *Tholouse*, vpon this occasion. The Earle of *Tholouse* by the perswasion of one *Peter Suillar*, had taken certaine Merchants of *Aquitaine*, and vsed them hardly. The Earle of *Poictou* surprizes this *Peter*, imprisons him, and would not suffer the Earle of *Tholouse* to redeeme him, vpon any condition. Whereupon the Earle imprisons two Gentlemen seruants of the King of *England*, *Robert* and *Ralph Poer*, trauelling through his Country (as Pilgrimes) from Saint *Iames de Compostella*; which Earle *Richard* tooke so ill, as he enters into the Earles Countrey with an Army (prepared for a better act), wastes it with fire and sword, besieges and takes his Castles about *Tholouse*. The King of *France* (vpon the lamentable complaynt of the *Tholousans*) sends to the King of *England* to vnderstand, whether his sonne *Richard* did these things by his will and Counsell. The King of *England* answeres, *That he neither willed nor Counselled him thereunto, and that his son sent him*

word, (by the Archbishop of Dublin) *that he did nothing, but by the consent of the King of* France. Who (not satisfied with this answere) enters presently into *Bery* with his Army, seazes vppon the Countrey; takes in diuers Castles of the King of *Englands*, who makes himselfe ready to recouer the same. And thus that great intended enterprise, vndertaken with such feruor, became dasht and ouerthrowne, at the very time, they appoynted to haue set forward.

1188. *Anno Reg.* 34. The King of *France* cuts downe the most eminent elme of Princely parley.—All the meanes the Pope could vse by his Legates, nor all the perswasions of other Princes might preuaile, to reconcile these two ingaged Kings: though diuerse interviewes were procured, diuerse ouertures propounded, yet none tooke effect; they euer depart more incensed then they met: in so much as at length, the King of *France*, in a rage, cut downe the great Elme (betweene *Gisors* and *Try*) vnder which, the Kings of *France*, and Dukes of *Normandy* were euer vsed to parle, and swore, *There should be no more meetings in that place.* But yet after this, they were brought to another parle elsewhere, and therein the Popes Legat threatned to interdict the King of *France*, vnlesse hee made peace with the King of *England.* The King of *France* told him, that he feared not his sentence, beeing grounded vpon no equity, and that it appertained not to the Church of *Rome*, by sentence, or otherwise, to chastise the Kingdome, or King of *France*, vndertaking to reuenge the demerrits of the rebellious, that dishonoured his Crowne; and flatly told the Cardinall, *That he smelled of the Sterlings of* England.

Earle *Richard* (with the King of *France*) combine against his father King *Henry* 2.—This interview, wrought a worse effect then all the rest: for heere the King of *England* (absolutely) refuses to render *Alice* to his sonne *Richard*, but offered to the King of *France*, to giue her to his sonne *Iohn*, with larger conditions, then should be granted with the other: which so much alienated the heart of his sonne *Richard*, as he becomes

wholly Liege-man to the King of *France*, did homage vnto him for *Aquitaine*, and they both ioyne their forces against the Father.

And here now comes this mightie King of *England* (the greatest of all the Christian World in his time, or that the kingdome euer saw, to fall quite a sunder; forsaken both of his subiects, and himselfe letting downe his heart, to yeeld to any conditions whatsoeuer: he who neuer saw feare (but in the backe of his enemies) leaues now the defence of *Mans*, and flyes away with seauen hundred men (hauing promised the City, neuer to giue it ouer, in regard his Father was there buried, and himselfe borne:) and afterward comes to this last parle, with the King of *France*, betweene *Turwin* and *Arras*: where at their first meeting (no man suspecting the wrath) a thunder-bolt, with so terrible a cracke lighted iust betweene them, as it parted their conference in a confused manner for that time.

1189. *Anno Reg.* 35.—Within a while after, they came together againe, when suddainly began as fearefull a thunder as the former, which so amazed the King of *England* (as he had falne off from his Horse) had he not beene supported by those about him. And in this sort, beganne the Proem of that Treaty, wherein, the King of *England* yeelds to whatsoeuer con / ditions, the King of *France* required, did him homage againe for all his dominions on that side (both Kings hauing at the beginning of this Warre, renounced their mutuall obligation in that kinde,) renders vp *Alice* for whom hee had beene so much loden with scandall and turmoyle, vpon condition, she should be giuen in marriage to his sonne *Richard* at his returne from the Holy Warre; and in the meane time to remayne in the custody of any one of fiue whom *Richard* should nominate: grants that fealty bee giuen vnto him of all his Dominions, and pardons all his partakers. Besides, couenants *to pay the King of* France 20000. *markes of siluer for dammage done during these last Wars. And that if he should not performe these Articles, his Barons should sweare to*

renounce him, and betake them to the part of the King of France, *and Earle* Richard. *And for more caution, he yeeldes to deliuer vp the Cities of* Mans *and* Tureyn, *with diuers Castles into their hands, &c.*

His Death.—And here was an end of this businesse; and within three dayes after, of this Kings life: whose heart, not made of that temper to bow, burst with the weight of a declining fortune. Some few houres before he dyed, hee saw a list of their names who conspired with the King of *France*, and Earle *Richard* against him; and finding therein his Sonne *Iohn* to be the first, fals into a grieuous passion, both cursing his sonnes, and the day wherein himselfe was borne; and in that distemperature departs the World, which so often himselfe had distempered; hauing reigned thirty foure yeares, seauen moneths, and fiue dayes.

1189. *Anno Reg.* 35.—His Sonne *Richard* approaching the Corpes, as it was carrying to bee interred (adorned according to the vsuall manner of Kings, with all royall Ornaments open faced,) the blood gushed out of the nostrills of the Dead (a signe, vsually noted, of guiltinesse) as if Nature yet after Death, retayned some intelligence in the veines, to giue notice of wrong, and checke the malice of an vnnaturall Offender: at which sight, *Richard* surprized with horror, is sayd to haue burst out into extreame lamentations.

His Issue.—He had issue by his Wife *Elioner*, foure sonnes, *Henry*, *Richard*, *Geffery*, and *Iohn*: besides two other, *William* the eldest, and *Phillip* the youngest but one, dyed young. Also three Daughters; *Maude* married to *Henry* Duke of *Saxony*: *Elioner* the Wife of *Alfonso* the eighth of that name, King of *Castile*: *Ioan* giuen in marriage vnto *William* King of *Sicile*. Hee had also two naturall sonnes, by *Rosamond* daughter of *Walter* Lord *Clifford*, *William*, surnamed *Longespee*, in *English Long-sword*, and *Geffery* Arch-bishop of *Yorke*, who after fiue yeares banishment in his brother King *Iohns* time dyed, *Anno* 1213.—*Vide Io. Speed.*

The first sonne *William* surnamed *Longespee*, Earle of *Salisbury* (in right of *Ela* his Wife: daughter and heire of *William* Earle of that County, sonne of Earle *Patricke*) had issue *William* Earle of *Salisbury*, and *Stephen* Earle of *Vlster*: *Ela* Countesse of *Warwicke*: *Ida* Lady *Beauchampe* of *Bedford*, and *Isabell* Lady *Vescy*. His Sonne, Earle *William* the second, had Earle *William* the third, Father of *Margaret*, Wife of *Henry Lacy* Earle of *Lincolne*.

It is sayd, King *Henry* had also a third naturall sonne called *Morgan* (by the Wife of one *Rodulph Bloeth* or *Blewet* a Knight; he liued to be *Prouost* of *Beuerley*, and to be elected to the Bishopricke of *Duresme*; and comming to *Rome* for a dispensation (because his Bastardy made him otherwise vncapeable) the Pope willed him to professe him selfe *Blewets* lawfull sonne, and not the Kings Naturall, promising to Consecrate him on that condition; but he (vsing the aduice of one *William Lane* his Clerke) told the Pope that for no worldly promotion he would renounce his Father, or deny himselfe to be of Blood Royall.

The end of the Life, and Reigne, of Henry *the second.* /

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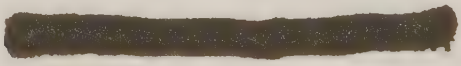

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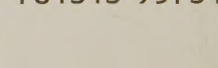

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